1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE OF HAA NAMES SHARED

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU	NIUATO-PUTAPU	103
Tongatabu		17*	15	3	1	613
Haapai	38		22	4	3	174
Vavau	57	36		7	2	
Niuafoou	31	23	23		0	
Niuatoputapu	40	40	20	0		

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* This table is to be read horizontally, thus Tongatabu shares 17 per cent of its names with Haapai.

In an attempt to express the total interrelations of each pair of island 103
groups by a single figure, I present in Table 7 a sort of percentage-index 613
figure which is the average of the two percentages expressing the pro- 174
portion of shared names between each two island groups. Thus, as shown, 128
in Table 6, Tongatabu shares 17 per cent of its names with Haapai; Haapai
shares 38 per cent of its names with Tongatabu. The percentage-index
would then be the sum of 17 and 38, divided by 2, or 28.

TABLE 7. PERCENTAGE-INDEX OF HAA NAMES SHARED

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU
Tongatabu				
Haapai	28			
Vavau	36	29		
Niuafoou	17	14	15	
Niuatoputapu	21	23	11	0

Table 7 shows the relationship of shared haa-names to be closest be- 103
tween Tongatabu and Vavau (index 36); then follows Haapai and Vavau 613
and Tongatabu and Haapai. In view of the geographic separation of 174
Tongatabu and Vavau by the intervening Haapai group and in view of the
lower index for Tongatabu and adjacent Haapai, it seems apparent that
the high index figure for Tongatabu and Vavau is due to historic causes.

TAUVU

The Fijian term *tauvu* has been used by Thomson (56, p. 5) to express 648
the special relationship which exists between two tribes or villages which 794
worship the same god.

Inquiry in Tonga elicited information about *tauvu* in only two places.
The people of Tungua Island, Haapai, and Moala and Ketei in the windward [421]
islands of Fiji (32) are *tauvu* to each other; that is, they have the same
god and so have full right to each other's goods.

Okoa Island, Vavau, which is the hereditary land of the Tui Lakepa, a chief of Fijian ancestry, is called *tauvu* to Ofu Island because smaller and dependent. Perhaps the real reason is that anciently they worshipped the same god.

[Lifuka Island]

wants. Were the god complaisant to a sick person, he would be taken into Melaia's 776
house, who would then gently massage the patient and he would recover. When 778
people came to make supplication to the god they would wreathe themselves about the 782
neck with *ifi* (chestnut) leaves and veil themselves with white tapa. Loud talking and [757]
noise were strictly forbidden close to the god's premises in Holopeka. [784]

Ngaohaa was also the principal deity of Fonoifua Island. The chief 776
Taifonoifua, as well as Tui Afitu, was under the protection of this god, who 793
manifested himself only through his priestess, a woman named Fipe. The [825]
god Ngaohaa was probably represented in the shellfish *pava*, like certain
other gods who had fish or shellfish as their representatives. Pava was also [778]
the name of the house or holy place of Ngaohaa, located on the tract Tave.
As usual the presence of the god became manifest by the trembling of the [787]
priestess, who was usually in a reclining position when the god entered her.
Old informants who knew the last priestess said that she was an old woman. Although the deity became manifest in a priestess, he was nevertheless conceived of as a god, not a goddess. The information is not altogether clear as to whether the name Ngaohaa refers only to the god or also to the family to which the priestess Fipe belonged. This family is of matapule rank and some members of it are now living on Oua Island.

Finger sacrifices to this god were resorted to in trouble or sickness. The 776
finger joints cut off were taken to the priestess, who pronounced the will 782
of the god in the matter which was pending. Voyagers sailing from Haapai
to Tongatabu, being delayed at Nomuka Island for weeks on account of 776 484
head winds, went to Fonoifua to beseech the aid of the god Ngaohaa for 782
favorable winds. It is said no offerings were made, but this hardly seems
believable. The premises of the god on Fonoifua comprised a Tongan 776
house of ordinary type, surrounded by a fence of living *puko* stakes such 778
as are to be seen commonly in Tonga to-day. This fence was built and 793
kept in repair by the Fonoifua people, who guarded it, in order that no [417]
harm might befall the priestess. The house itself was on a mound and was [794]
occupied only by the priestess. The rest of her family are said to have dwelt in other houses within the fence.

A god named Uluenga (Head-covered-with-turmeric) had a house at 776
Holopeka, Lifuka Island. The following information about Uluenga was 778
imparted by Ana Manu of Holopeka:

> The priest of the god was named Havea. The shrine (*fakafaanga*) was a basket [793]
> containing three articles, namely, a throwing club, a whale's tooth, and a *paango lafo* (round portion of bottom of the coconut shell used in a game something like deck billiards). These articles were wrapped in white tapa, which was smeared with turmeric. The god had his house on the premises called Haalupo. The holy place or temple was known as Uhaimahu (Rain-in-time-of-plenty). It was not permissible for
> people to enter into the holy place. Also loud talking was prohibited in the god's [784]
> premises.

A few days after the New Year we summed up a week of 527
village festivity as follows: 574

> Christmas and New Year have passed by quite uneventfully. Beyond feasting and much church-going on Christmas Day, the villagers have paid no special tribute to the memory of Christ's birth. They have been much more excited about
> New Year. The last day of the old year was a day marked by 527
> extra-large feasts and culminating in a two-hour church service 574
> which lasted from ten to midnight. All the local lay-preachers 796
> together with their pastor kept the service going at the Free
> Wesleyan church by taking turns in quarter-hour prayers or 794
> Bible lessons. The pastor had brought into the church two noisy clocks which ticked away on the pulpit. Punctually at midnight, the pastor climbed into the pulpit, cut short the interminable praying of one of the more verbal lay-preachers and himself led the congregation in a fluent and final outburst of prayer. Thereafter the congregation broke up into small and
> excited groups. Each saluted everyone else with a vigorous [576)
> handshake and the Polynesian nose greeting. Then the meeting broke up and all went home.
>
> Each of the three Protestant churches welcomed the first 527
> minute of the New Year at different minutes. The three 795
> local pastors would have thought it undignified to synchronise their clocks during the day. As a result there was a range of at least thirty minutes between first and last New Year greeting--plenty of basis also for interdenominational discussion later on as to when New Year actually occurred.
>
> According to village custom the first week of the New Year 527
> is given over to rejoicing and thanks for the blessings of the 574
> year just finished. This thanksgiving has consisted of daily 796
> church-going, the interminable and almost continuous beating of wooden gongs by gangs of lads working in shifts, the eating of large quantities of food each day, interminable singing of church hymns each night by groups of adults and gangs of children, much sociable coming and going of groups of singers between one village and the next. The local "string band" has been on a constant perambulation of near and distant villages. Each visit has meant all-night *kava* drinking, eating, and playing of the five tunes that make up the band's repertoire. Voices have become hoarse, eyes red and puffy through lack of sleep; tempers are breaking easily through fatigue.
>
> We asked Biukala whether he had had a happy week. He 527
> replied that he had been happy for so many days that he was 461
> tired now of being happy any more. His most fervent wish was that the next week would come quickly that he might begin again his routine plantation work. His feelings were echoed

cooked at the picnic place, and large quantities of other food 527 262
will be eaten.

The *kai tunu* corresponds to the basket of food that 574
figures so prominently in the church-suppers and socials of 262
the white man. In Pangai it is contributed by arrangement 794
for such occasions as an evening devoted to singing sacred [431]
songs; for an occasional gift to the pastor of the church, for a carpenter called in to repair the church structure; for the singing and dancing-parties which meet to practise many nights in succession before some large church conference or before the visit of a member of the royal family to Vava'u. If for a group, the food is laid out and eaten after the more serious business of the evening is finished; if for an individual, the food is taken to the household and there eaten in company with household members. It is unlikely that there would be any pork in any of these food-contributions. Possibly a bit of fish or chicken would be included, but mostly the food would be prepared from the regular vegetable staples.

On almost all occasions when the villager joins with 527
his fellows for work or play food is served and eaten together. 574
It symbolizes good fellowship (as when a large group is 262
invited to a birthday-feast), token-payment for services 182
rendered (as with a working-party), validation of a socially important contract (as in a marriage-feast), or it serves as a method of marking the arrival or departure of individuals who make up the social group (birth- and death-feasts). On all of these and on other occasions still, when food is served to the group, the satisfaction of hunger is of course important. None who have watched the villager eat at one of these feasts can doubt either his hunger or his capacity for consuming the largest amounts of food. Beyond this, however, the symbolic significance of the feast is not to be overlooked. The villager is certainly well aware that the feast transforms mere eating into an expression of the social values of the group.

One further type of food-distribution may be mentioned 574
in this context; that is, a combination of a feast and food- 437
distribution for a specific money-raising purpose. This is 432
the feast termed *aho no*—" borrowing day " (?). It is held 262
on any occasion when the householder wishes to raise a

434 Some further notes may be added concerning Biukala's
511 expenditure. His poll-tax payments include his own as well
592 as those of a man from the island of Uvea who has taken up
residence in his household and who assists in turn with
[651] gardening and copra making. The rents are for three *api*
[427] in Pangai and a fourth in Tongatapu. Church gifts include
[794] the quarterly offering of 6/-, together with a special
missionary offering of £2 0s 0d and the gift to the church of
a can of kerosene. Biukala, obviously, is a very strong
functioning member of the church. For the first birthday
[527] of his only son to whom Biukala is greatly attached, the
father made a large feast. Besides large quantities of
Tongan food (including an additional pig which had to be
purchased), Biukala bought from the store such foods as
flour, sugar, fish, spices (his wife has learned to bake cakes),
melons, canned milk. He also bought as a birthday-gift for
his son a fathom of piece goods to make a *vala* for the
infant. This birthday-feast in consequence, is remembered
as one of the really big village functions of the year. The
[432] other store expenditures of these months include the usual
soap, kerosene, flour, sugar, canned meat, canned fish, and
piece-goods for *vala* as well as seeds for his garden.
[431] Biukala's mother lives on a town-lot in Nukualofa. Here
money economy is much more important than in Pangai, and
his substantial gift was doubtless of great value to the
mother.

434 It is not possible to estimate with any accuracy the total
income of Pangai village as a whole. Money is obtained
439 principally from the sale of copra, bananas, and pineapples,
and from services. Of these sources, copra sales are highest
on the list, sale of bananas second, the sale of pineapples and
services (stevedoring for one or two men, occasional work
in a store), far below the others. Some few men in the
village make a point of being vitally interested in banana
exportation. Each of these men tries to prepare from eight
to ten cases of bananas for export about five or six times each
year. He receives from three to five shillings per case,
depending on market price. About five other men in the
village occasionally export one case of bananas each. Thus,
under the most favourable conditions, each man in the first
group may add perhaps £10 to his yearly income and each

old woman's broad jokes. These sallies are directed at the 766
cause of the infant's death which the old woman thought 858
was due to over-indulgence in sugar-cane. While a pad of 593
bark cloth is pushed under the infant's chin to hold up its 603
head, the mourners speculate quietly on the fate that has [761]
overtaken the mother's offspring: eight born, four alive, [165]
four dead.

The two old women wipe the dead body and oil it, then
wrap it in bark cloth. Finally the mother returns with mats.
The body is laid out on the floor and covered with a fine mat
up to the neck. The mother now starts wailing over her
child, calling out for her brother (the *fa'e tangata* of the
dead child) and regretting he is not present. The grand-
mother chants phrases expressing the wish that the child
should have life again. After each call she bends over the
child and kisses its face. The father comes in with fly-
switches for the mourners. He sits by the head of his child
crying quietly. The grandmother soon stops wailing. The
mother continues for a further two hours. Suddenly, the [292]
father remembers that he is without his ceremonial skirt.
He goes off to his house to find it and put it on.

In the afternoon, the pastor of the church comes to the 766
house and holds a prayer meeting over the body. In the 794
evening and all night long, members of the church, of the 782
family and relatives sing hymns and pray. The father digs 858
the grave during the night.

On the following morning at dawn, after regular church 766
attendance, all the men and women of the village dress in 858
their ceremonial skirts and go to the house of death. [794]
Presently the procession moves to the cemetery, the body [292]
of the dead child carried in the arms of the father's brother.
There follow at the grave prayers, hymn-singing and then
the quick burial.

The women of the family of the dead child return to the 765
mother's mother's house where the women form a *kava*- 858
circle. The men of the family meet in the mother's brother's 574
house for *kava*. This division of the sexes is unusual for a 276
funeral *kava*-circle. The reason given in this case was that 766
the mother's mother's house was too small for all the
mourners. Some of the women boiled food which was later

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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276 It is hard to give adequate feeling for the manifold
574 interrelations of the *kava*-drinking circle in village life. It
is to be realized that the villager has few other outlets for
571 his sociability. Old-style Tongan dancing has practically
182 vanished as a folk-activity. None in the village has adopted
[535] the white man's dancing. The church does not sponsor
[178] social gatherings except choir-practice meetings where
opportunities for sociability are rare. The men's work takes
[177] them for the most part to their gardens by day. *Kava*-
[794] drinking provides good reason therefore for coming together
during the evenings to discuss topics of common interest.
In a very real sense a large village *kava*-circle is the Pangai
equivalent to the New England town-meeting. It provides
an outlet for social impulses and a forum in which matters
of common concern may be argued. Because the composition
of any *kava*-group changes materially from one night to the
next, it is possible for the village to develop a uniformity of
opinion and at the same time to avoid any splitting of the
village into conflicting or partisan sub-groups. Four
churches and four religious dogmas in a small village might
[795] be a source of tension when religious belief is still a matter
of life and death to the believer. There is no tendency in the
village for religious differences to be significant in the formation of *kava*-groups. Hence the *kava*-circle provides a
common and neutral ground where men may meet on the
basis of social need and for purely social purposes.

276 It has been evident throughout this discussion that *kava*-
574 drinking in this commoner-village of Pangai has none of
those overtones of elaborate formality and delight in social
565 design for its own sake which are so characteristic of the
184 *kava*-circles among the Tongan noble class and also among
[171] the chiefly class of Samoa and other islands of western
Polynesia. The villager is of course aware of this formality
[576] and etiquette as practised elsewhere in Tonga.[28] He has
occasionally watched in all probability, a formal *kava*-party
elsewhere when nobles have met or royalty has been greeted.

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[28] The formal *kava*-circle with all its etiquette, rank-symbolism, and customs is well summarised by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 156-170). This account should be consulted to gain some idea of the many differences between the informal village *kava*-circle and the formal circle composed of those of chiefly and royal rank.

771 795 they probably represent not so much significant differences in the pursuit of spiritual truths but rather symbolic standards which served in the past and still serve today in the life of the village as catalytic agents in the obscure struggles of unusual personalities to secure expression in their conflicts with group-interests.

794 795 Church membership in Pangai is shown in the following table:

162 TABLE 14.—CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN PANGAI.

Church	Membership					Per cent. village membership	Per cent. kingdom membership (Census 1931)
	Men	Women	Boys[31]	Girls	Total		
Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga	25	32	27	23	107	41	58
Free Church of Tonga	24	12	21	16	73	28	16
Church of Tonga	6	4	7	7	24	9	10
Roman Catholic Church	14	12	15	16	57	22	12
Other Churches[32]	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Totals	69	60	70	62	261	100	100

797 795 That the Tongans have really believed in their religion in the sense of taking some doctrinal differences seriously, however, is shown by a brief glance at the religious history of the kingdom. The mission of the Wesleyan church was begun in 1822 and again in 1826. The mission of the Roman Catholic church began in 1842. 797 798 795 669 Doctrinal differences between these two missions and between the missions and the still pagan Tongans, were inextricably mixed in the early wars of Tonga, particularly in the war of 1852 when the scattered islands were being united into one kingdom. The Tongan history-books stress the fact that this war was fought purely for political reasons and that religion had no part in it (as if politics and religion can be separated as neatly in the lives of men as they can by words on a printed page!). It is significant, however, that the king's army was composed mostly of Wesleyans while one of the strongholds this army

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[31] Boys and girls, according to the classification of the church rolls, include those under the age of about sixteen years.

[32] "Other churches," of which there are none in Pangai, include the Church of England, the Church of the Latter Day Saints, and the Seventh Day Adventists. These three churches had a total kingdom membership in 1931 of 1,271 people.

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Some of the reasons for changing from one religious group to another are given in the following cases:

Betelo left the Roman Catholics and joined the Free Wesleyan church because of trouble over the theft of melons which he was growing on church land. Betelo felt that other Roman Catholic men had not supported his side of the case when two youths were charged with the theft. One Catholic even swore on oath that the melons in question had never been grown by Betelo. This quarrel rocked the Catholics for some weeks and quietened down only when Betelo left the church.

Sigaleti, who is an expert fisherman, left the Free Wesleyan church, taking his children with him to the Free Church of Tonga because he objected to the pastor's ban on Saturday-night fishing. Sigaleti would return from fishing expeditions in the late hours of Sunday and consequently either sleep all day Sunday in his house, or else sleep through the services if he managed to drag himself to the church-house.

Va'akau has perpetual quarrels with the pastors of the three Wesleyan churches over matters concerning the disposal of church-funds. He apparently believes that the pastors are not dividing church moneys according to church-rule. Hence he changes his affiliation with a regular frequency.

Latu got into trouble with the church elders at the time of the annual church-conference. He was charged with failing to provide an allotted share of food for the conference delegates. As a result, he changed church-membership.

Saimone is noted for his own independent interpretations of church theology. He comes into frequent conflict with the pastors over matters of dogma. These conflicts are generally solved by Saimone's changing his church.

Fa's husband was the bell-ringer of the Free Wesleyan church. He got into the habit of coming late for bell-ringing and so lost the privilege of this position. He left the Wesleyans in anger and joined the Catholics, taking his wife and children with him. Some time later Fa left the Catholics in turn. Her son was working for a Catholic who neglected to pay the son his wages. As a result, the son could not pay

his poll-tax and went to jail. In her anger at this injustice, 794 795
Fa returned to the Wesleyan church. 578

According to Biukala, Hausia and some of his friends left the Wesleyan church and joined the Roman Catholics because they were inordinately anxious to learn to play string-band instruments and some Catholic offered to teach them if they would change churches. Others are alleged to have joined the Catholics because the Catholics in turn are alleged to pay defaulting poll- and land-taxes for them.

The reasons just given for changing churches may not 794
be the real reasons. They are at least the sort of reasons 795
that are considered good reasons in this culture—the sort 153
of reason that the villager can understand because it rings
true, even though he may not approve the causes or the 154
results of such quarrelling and defection. In all cases, however, one has the definite feeling that the good-enough reason is a happening that is seized upon to justify action which is already decided upon for other grounds: in all these cases, because of fundamental personality conflict between church-member and pastor, between church-members themselves. The ego feelings of some one villager suffer frustration. He changes church affiliation from a large to a small group or from Protestant to Catholic faith because in this way he can repair his dented security-attitudes both in the welcome that awaits him in his new church (competition for members between churches and faiths is keen) and by the feeling (if he becomes Catholic) that he is acquiring knowledge and
rituals which his Protestant friends do not possess. From 794
this point of view, then, it is clear that the four churches in 795
this small village play a dual institutional role. On the one 154
hand, the churches provide an explanation of this world and
the next, together with a code of morality. Both explanation 182
and code serve as integrating elements in the culture. On the other hand, the fact that there are four churches means that those in the village who are unusual, abnormal, a-social, anti-social—personality deviants in other words—can find haven in one of the churches when the others do not please. Thus, changing church-affiliation provides a means of solving on a social plane interpersonal conflicts that might otherwise

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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794 795 154 182 become strong enough to result in social disorganization and disintegration.

794 795 554 Changing from one Protestant church to another is also made easy by the fact that the one who changes does not lose any religious status in the process. If he is a lay-preacher in one church, he is welcomed as a lay-preacher into the other church. He does not have to start from the lowest rung of the congregational ladder and then work himself up to a position of higher social status in the new congregation. In this way the person who changes is able to satisfy personal conflicts on the one hand and preserve his village religious status on the other hand and at the same time.

795 798 From none of the Protestant villagers was it possible to obtain any clear idea of theological differences between the Wesleyan churches. Villagers simply take for granted the fact of the three sects. Only some of the more enquiring bother their heads about why and wherefore. Few of the Protestants, however, do not at one time or another worry about the existence of the Roman Catholics. This is shown by little things: when two Catholic boys went to jail for stealing melons, there was a sort of, "What can you expect but this?" look on Protestant faces; Biukala makes the habit of teasing and often angering Roman Catholic boys by making a parody of crossing himself whenever he sees them, or else trying to imitate the sounds and words of Catholics saying the Catechism; Kali takes the church medal that Ana wears round her neck, holds it up for all to see, then makes a few derogatory comments about idol-worship and makes as if to tear the medal from Ana's neck—those standing by approve of Kali's joking while Ana flounces angrily away. These little things are typical and indicate underlying antagonism. They are summed up by the opinion that is typical also of the Protestant villager: the Catholic becomes a good person by remembering long prayers—the Protestant must strive for goodness by a never-ending attempt to receive Christ into his heart and soul. The validity of this opinion is not at issue. It is given simply because it is the way in which the villager thinks about a problem that probably worries him more than he will admit.

CHURCH SUPPORT

794 The Protestant villager supports his church by attending church at least seven times each week, by sending his children to Sunday school, by paying quarterly dues of 2/- per member, by building and repairing his church, by paying his pastor a small stipend (in Pangai, five or six pounds per year), by providing a plantation-garden for the pastor, by providing the kerosene for the lamps of evening service. Children graduate from Sunday school to full church-membership at about the age of sixteen years.

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794 In return the pastor is on hand to bless every necessary occasion with Divine help and support. He also provides powerful moral and spiritual exhortations for each church service. An easy-going pastor will get on well with his church members. Pastors with unbending principles, on the other hand, will often come into conflict with the villagers, especially when he urges them to put principles into practice. The Protestant villager is unbending in his principles, more easy about practice. He will often criticize mildly those whose actions suggest a slipping of morality. But he feels that it is the job of the police to do more than this; and if the police do not do more, then he is content to let well alone.

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[587] As a sidelight on both religion and morality in the village, it may be noted that should a local lay-preacher (deacon) lose his wife by death, he generally resigns his preaching commission as long as he remains a widower, applying to have his name again entered on the rolls when he remarries. The apparent assumption by all concerned is that one should not be asked to trust a lay-preacher, by definition one who is both highly religious and highly moral, to remain a pure-souled, good, unsinful Christian while unmarried. Wise in the ways of men, the Wesleyan Church prefers to put no Tongan to such a test.

794 According to the pastor of the Neiafu Free Wesleyan Church, the village of Pangai itself is considered in church circles to be a pretty poor village both economically and spiritually. This is inferred from the fact that there is a long-standing debt of some twenty-odd pounds on the church-house. No amount of prodding seems to make it possible

for the villagers to find the money to repay this debt. 794 Another basis for the inference, again according to local pastors, is that Pangai always lags far behind the other villages of comparable size in Vava'u when special collections are made for church purposes. It is difficult for the outsider to evaluate such judgments. Our own observations suggest that there is in Pangai a warmth of religious feeling [771] and spiritual fervor that would be considered highly abnormal in countries with a longer Christian tradition behind them. On the other hand there is in Pangai a 794 noticeable lack of what may be called civic and religious 186 pride when this village is compared with some of the other villages in Vava'u, particularly other villages where the noble estate-owner is in residence and acts as a sort of dynamo in village life. The village overseer of Pangai, as has been noted before, is a good, plain, honest fellow, a Pangai man (644) among his friends. None could possibly accuse him of having the energy of vaulting ambition, or the efficiency of a village-manager. From this viewpoint, therefore, Pangai is probably slack where civic pride is concerned, slack also when it comes to the matter of showing interest in one's church by contributions other than, or additional to, the ordinary quarterly dues.

SUNDAY SCHOOL

An attempt is made by church pastors to give the young 794 training in religious matters through the institution of a Sunday school which meets once each week before the regular mid-morning church service. The instruction, given by the pastor, consists in the usual Bible readings and the learning of Bible texts. At the end of the year prizes are given to the best pupils. The names of these pupils are announced during church service, and their parents derive great satisfaction and pride from the awards. To show the form this satisfaction may take, the following notes from our field-diary are added:

When two of Koloamatangi's grandchildren (Koloa is 794 the village overseer) received church prizes, he took the 574 opportunity to give one of the biggest feasts in village memory. (603) He slaughtered a bull to provide the principal relish and added to this large amounts of octopus, fish, and

794 pork, and the usual vegetable staples. The guests sat for an
574 hour before all this food while the local pastor led the group
in prayer, hymn-singing and Bible reading. Then the word
was given to eat. The church bell tolling the hour of mid-
[578] week service came all too soon after this. Some guests were
heard to criticize the holding of church services at the usual
hour on this day insofar as they felt that they had not been
given reasonable time to eat as much of the food displayed
[431] as they desired. Many of the guests were given large baskets
of food to take with them when they left. This they brought
out to eat in their own houses when church was finished.
794 While appreciating Koloa's generosity in giving such a large
574 feast, some of the villagers thought that the display was
rather ostentatious if it was for the mere purpose of
578 honouring Sunday-school prize-winners. But Koloa was
554 greatly attached to his two grandchildren, and he had
(603) decided that if he was to give a feast, then only the biggest
feast was good enough for them. He did not overlook the
fact that only a man very wealthy in Tongan foods could
give such a feast. In this way, therefore, Sunday-school
prizes became the excuse to express both his affection for his
children and his status in the village community.

THE LAY-PREACHER

794 With the exception of the village pastors, none are more
793 important in the village in the functioning of the Protestant
churches than the lay-preachers. They occupy a middle
554 stage in the religious hierarchy between pastor at the top
and church congregation at the bottom. They are those
specially devout religious men who for one reason or another
have been unable to qualify for the full period of training
that is necessary before being ordained as a pastor but who
have had sufficient religious fervour to study for and pass
the examinations that are the prerequisite for certification
as a lay-preacher by the Church Conference. The duties of
the lay-preacher in Pangai—there are about five of them
in the Free Wesleyan Church—are to relieve the church
pastor for one or more of the seven church-services and
prayer-meetings each week in Pangai and to help the pastor
by giving further relief in the administration of the Pangai
"circuit" which includes two other villages besides Pangai.

794 Recognition as a lay-preacher brings much extra social
554 prestige to the man concerned. It is a record of devoutness, high spiritual life, and Biblical scholarship (knowledge of the geography of the Temple in Jerusalem, for instance, ability to construe Biblical texts, or skill in retracing Jesus' various itineraries)—and these are important in a culture where Christianity is not a matter for lip-service only but also a lesson in vitally believed dogma. It gives one a directing responsibility for church upkeep and repairs and thus the ability gently to remind the congregation of the amounts one has oneself spent in caring for the church structure. It makes it necessary to be faithful in attendance at all church services, meetings, choir practices; thus one has a pleasant feeling of being busy in the good works of the Lord. It gives one also the opportunity of conducting church
794 services. Then, dressed in regulation shirt, coat, trousers,
796 sox, and shoes (if any), one slowly climbs the stairs of the
554 ornate wooden pulpit and, taking a deep breath, launches
[537] forth in oratory and exhortation that flays the sinner with the fear of hell and gently reguides him back along the narrow path with an old, old story that never tires, of One Man's sacrifice and love for mankind.

794 It is true that for the most part the congregation
796 appears to be singularly unaffected by oratorical climaxes. Some of them sleep. Some catch flies. Mothers nurse their babies. Children in the first rows giggle and pinch each other. Some look idly out of the window. Some study the hymnal. Only a few, and those perhaps the most devout, make even a pretense of paying enrapt attention, and these have eyes so shaded by hands that it is but charity that regards them as concentrating deeply on the message and not covertly asleep.

794 When the service is over, the mass file out through the
554 main front door. The lay-preacher stands at the small back door behind the pulpit, there to shake with solemn hands and
[576] greet the village overseer, the wife of the pastor, perhaps a visiting chief or other person of importance from another village. Then the preacher himself feels important and well rewarded for the days of almost full-time anxious study of text and rehearsal of phrase that have filled the hours between notification of preaching-assignment and the actual moment of oratory itself.

moment of oratory itself. Should the assignment have been 000
to conduct service in a village other than Pangai, then the 794
conclusion to all this labour of love is a feast given 574
immediately after the service by one of the chief supporters 554
of this church. The lay-preacher is the guest of honour.
His is the first *kava* cup called, he is chosen to say the Grace.
Then, after the eating of much good food, the lay-preacher
begins his long walk back to Pangai accompanied by the
thanks of his hosts for the sermon and a material symbol
of these thanks in the form of a large root of *kava* or a good-sized basket of pork and other oven-baked foods.

The rewards and responsibilities of being a lay-preacher 794
are such as to appeal only to a few of the more sober and 554
older village men. Biukala, after passing a three-day written
and oral examination, found himself during our stay in the
village the proud possessor of his preacher's certificate. He
is a very serious and sober, hard-working Tongan, but he [123]
beamed under our congratulations and was very obviously
pleased with all the new possibilities of service and increased
village prestige that now opened before his wide-glancing
eyes. Only one major worry now filled his mind. He had 794
neither dark suit nor black shoes properly to costume himself 554
in answer to a preaching call. He was not particular, of 292
course, about the fit of either suit or shoes. As long as his
feet could be squeezed into shoes, no matter what the agony, 177
for a two-hour service, as long as he could make pretense of
slipping into the suit, no matter whether the coat could be
buttoned or the trousers reached to his shins only, he would
be attired in clothing favoured by white missionaries. For
Biukala, such clothes, though hot to wear, a hindrance to
free movement and hard to get, definitely represented a
symbol both of his newly-gained village-status and of a
wishful longing to identify himself with the white man's
way of life. Later on, we were grateful to be able to help
Biukala grasp firmly this symbol of his desiring.

CONCLUSION 177

The culture of the village as it functions today is a 178
well-integrated blend of the old and the new. How much of
it is aboriginal Tongan culture and how much of it is derived
from western European culture is hard to say with any

moment to send round the collection-plate. None could 797
lay out the funds thus collected in church-building with 177
better effect. None was so jealous of the honour and independence 178
of Tonga, warning her when any of the great
nations cast greedy eyes upon her emerald shores. He [186]
designed the national ensign, and the royal standard with
three club-knives, such as the European officers strap to
their sides, and a dove carrying a branch in its beak, and
the Great Seal, and many other things that make a nation
respected. These were foreigners' things and their meaning
was therefore not known to Tongans, but they were the
emblems of civilisation. He it was who ordered the timber
for the palace and the churches and all the public
buildings, which cost a great deal of money. And lastly, [648]
it was he who persuaded a German Consul-General to
come to Tonga in a man-of-war to make a treaty, so that
Tonga was recognised of the Great Powers: for this
honour only a small island was given to Germany as a
coaling-station, and for his labours as interpreter between
the plenipotentiaries Mr Baker received, as was right and
proper, a decoration from the German Emperor.

Then Unga, the premier and the king's son, died in 797
Auckland, and Mr Baker, out of his love for the king, 645
brought back the body to Tonga in a German man-of-war,
and consented to fill the place that Unga had left empty.
For charges had been made against Mr Baker—the great [794]
are always envied!—and a committee of his peers in the
Methodist Church had advised his removal to Australia.
Thus Unga's death saved him from the pain of leaving
the Tongans whom he loved.

Now the king had a grievance against the Conference. 797
795

ember. The Free Church had taken this opportunity for 651
holding their annual collections in Vavau, and the people, [794]
having sold all their available copra to get money for the
church, had none left from which we could draw for the
benefit of the contractor. With this news came stories [795]
of persecution in the Niuas. The Wesleyans were again [798]
being persecuted, and it was rumoured that the people
had formed a league to pay no taxes. We held a Cabinet 645
meeting, and resolved that the four principal members of
the Cabinet, Tukuaho, Fatafehi, Kubu, and myself, should
make a tour through the islands as far as Niua. The
mail-steamer was to drop us at Niua on her way to the
north, and a schooner was to be sent from Vavau to bring
us back. But at Vavau the state of affairs was so unsatisfactory that it was decided to leave me behind to
settle matters with the copra-contractor.

At the moment of entering the landlocked channel 181
to the harbour one passes into a different atmosphere. The mood of the people of Tongatabu and Haapai matches their flat shores. They cover their restlessness with a crust of reserve even as the honeycomb of water-caves is hidden by plains and palm-groves: but in this land of orange-trees and wild precipices lives a different race. There is an unquiet activity about them, a vivacity of manner, a use of gesture to illustrate speech never seen among their cousins of the southern islands. The air, heavy with the scent of orange-blossom, is yet full of impulse. The men stride down to the wharf to meet the steamer, not ashamed to show that they have curiosity: the girls assemble in groups on the grassy road to chaff new-comers with an easy familiarity more respect-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

XII.

MISSIONARIES.

In our efforts to induce the people to pay their taxes, 794
our principal competitors were not the traders, but the 797
Churches. There was but one money-harvest in the year, 651
and the directors of the several bodies that preyed upon the Tongans—the Government, the two Wesleyan missions, and in a lesser degree the Roman Catholics—set themselves to reap the golden crop simultaneously as soon as the sun had dried the copra. I must admit that the Wesleyans, in their anxiety to prove their loyalty, did not hold their missionary collections until the majority of their people had paid their taxes. The other missions were less considerate, and took largely of the things that were Cæsar's. The *fakamisonali* is so characteristic an entertainment that I must attempt to describe one.

For some days previously six or seven chosen vessels 794
had been canvassing their friends on behalf of the plates for which they were to be responsible on the great day. There was a keen rivalry between them, and to the importunities of one of them I fell a victim, defending

794 myself from the others by sheltering behind the promise
I had given him not to contribute to any plate but
his. Their method was ingenious. The tout took care to
approach his victim in the evening when the house was
full of people. He would remark that Pita (a neighbour)
had promised two dollars this year, and would hint that
he scarcely supposes the victim will allow himself to be
outdone by such a one as Pita! The unfortunate man,
constrained by false shame, promises more than he can
afford; the amount is noted in a book, and has to be
found by importunity or petty larceny.

As the day drew nearer we were set upon by numbers
794 of the faithful, including our convict groom, who came to
123 borrow money to give to the Church. For these I had
but one form of argument — forcible if not altogether
reverent. They were, I said, proposing to give my
money to the Church — not their own; and as it was
extremely unlikely that they would ever pay me back,
and therefore either I or the Church would have to go
without the money, I thought the Church was better able
794 to afford the loss. Cynics among the traders even went
the length of declaring that the *fakamisonali* is always
accompanied by the disappearance of their ducks and
fowls, which may generally be found in the yard of a
rival trader living at a distance, who has innocently
bought them from a native bent upon contributing his
mite to the Church. This is no doubt a slander.

796 On the appointed day the whole population donned
[292] their gala trousers and petticoats, and streamed to the
church, whose big bell was being tolled by relays of
urchins. The pews were crowded: there was not even

standing-room round the walls. At the pulpit end was 796
a semicircle of seats for the European aristocracy, includ- [563]
ing, of course, Mr M——, the contractor for the Government copra, who aspired to be thought the deliverer of oppressed Tongans, and could not therefore allow such an opportunity for advertisement to pass.

How shall I describe the scene that followed? How 796
shall I portray the unction of the presiding missionary, 794
as he poured forth his prayers for a full plate in a voice [797]
shaken with emotion, the roar of "*Malo!*" as each sentiment found expression, the rich smiles of the owners of the filling basins, and the mortified anxiety of the owners of the still empty ones? How tell of the magnificent, if somewhat ostentatious, liberality of the portly Mr M——, as his interpreter, the local butcher, announced, amid deafening cheers, that he was about to give £20 to the Lord out of his deep compassion for the suffering and oppressed? If the *bolotu* was a pious orgy, the *fakamisonali* was a religious debauch. In front of the pulpit stood a table on which lay a common wash-hand basin and an account-book, guarded each by a native teacher. The patrons of the basins sat in a stiff row behind.

After the preliminary religious exercises the missionary announced the name of the patron of the "plate" first to be filled. It might be the name of the person in charge of it, or that of some dead or absent one to whose memory it was dedicated. In one case a young blood of Vavau called his plate after a favourite dog, deceased some months before; but the presiding missionary had to draw the line somewhere, and he elected to draw it at dead dogs, because he feared that it might import a spirit of levity into the

796 proceedings. As the name of each patron was called she
794 rose in a stately manner and cast her contribution into the basin as a nest-egg. And now those who had promised contributions to the "plate" just announced, swaggered up the aisle and flung their coins into the basin. It was amusing to note the difference of gesture. Here a man would march up with an air of deep disdain and toss his coins into the basin one by one. Another would approach with proud humility and dash down a handful of threepenny pieces with a crash, retiring as he had come amid the shouts of well-merited applause for the dramatic contrast between his bearing and his bounty. In earlier days, before the glare of publicity had checked the spontaneity of the *fakamisonali*, the real sensation, as in all well-

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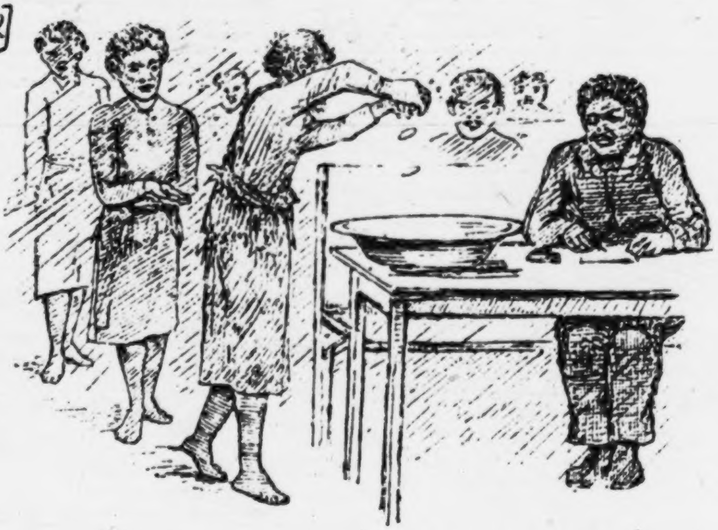


"*Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth.*"

arranged spectacles, was kept until the end. A band of 796
men and women would come up together and walk round 794
and round the basin, each throwing in a threepenny piece
as he passed. After a few rounds a man whose stock of
coins was exhausted would fall out, and the procession
continued without him. Then only two were left to
circle round each other in a sort of dance, amid deafening
applause. At last one of the survivors gave out, and the
victor was left alone to stand before the basin and chuck
in his coins from a distance. He was the hero of the
day.

Behind the pulpit were the tables of the money-changer, 796
who, so far from being driven out of this temple, was considered 794
necessary to its very existence, being, in fact, the 797
missionary himself. The mode of collection demanded a larger stock of small coins than was obtainable at the local stores, and as every contributor was encouraged to enlighten his right hand as to the doings of his left, the smaller coins are made to do double duty. When the congregation would no longer respond to the taunts or the entreaties of the basin-man, the contents of the basin were counted and dumped upon the money-changer's table, thus supplying him with change to satisfy the requirements of the contributors whose turns were yet to come.

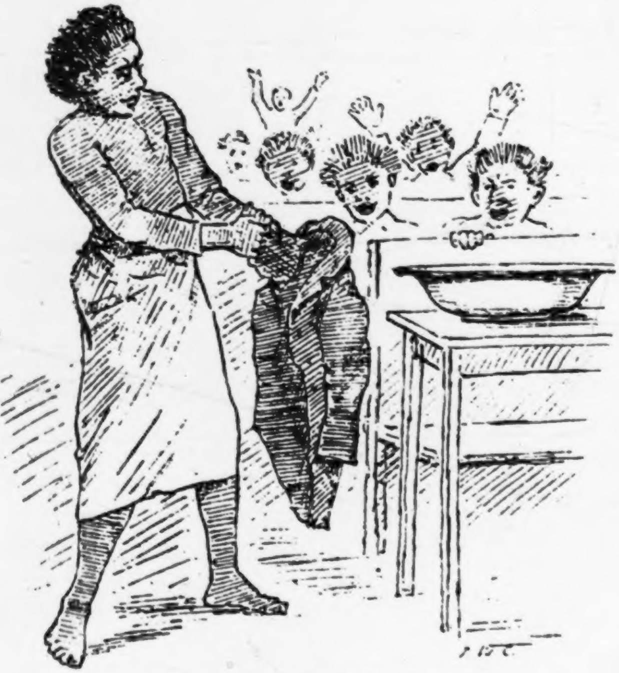
In the palmy days of the Wesleyan mission, when Mr
Baker was still the trusted shepherd of an undivided
flock, the mission treasury was filled by a system for the
ingenuity of which I believe he deserves the entire credit.
In the hysterical enthusiasm so cleverly fostered by the [452]
missionaries, the natives were quite ready to mortgage
their crops for the brief glory of surpassing their neigh-

796 hours; but it was thought that if the missionaries them-
794 selves advanced the money and afterwards sued their
797 debtors in the courts when the excitement of the collection
452 had had time to cool down, adverse criticism, and perhaps
even the resentment of the faithful, might be aroused. So Mr Baker entered into an unholy alliance with Messrs Ruge & Co., a German firm newly arrived in the group. The agents of the firm were to advance cash to any native who wanted it for the church collections on promissory notes, to be repaid in copra when the crop was ripe; and as the firm had not sufficient coin to satisfy all comers, the mission was to hand back the coin to the agents as fast as it was collected, taking bills on Sydney in exchange. Thus the firm secured a lien on all the future crop, to the exclusion of its rivals, the mission trebled its collections, and when the bills became due, it was the German firm who incurred the obloquy of haling the over-generous debtor before the court, and of selling up his live stock and furniture. The complacency of the courts might be counted on, for the chairman of the mission was also the unofficial adviser of the Government. Strange stories of the *fakamisonali* of those days were told to the Commission of Enquiry sent to investigate Mr Baker's proceedings—how, when the trading agent at the church door dared not advance any more cash, the disappointed native would rush back to the basin, stripping off his coat as he ran, and fling it in to win one more yell of applause from his excited fellow-worshippers.

796 These more picturesque incidents have now given place
794 to sober business. When the basins had drained the
congregation of all their cash, the contents were quickly

counted and the amount whispered to the presiding 794
teacher. In crying aloud the contents of each basin he 796
allowed pauses for the cheering, and artistically kept the
largest until the last. Mr M——, the deliverer of the
oppressed, showed a fine eye for effect. He cared noth- [563]

[292]



"To win one more yell of applause."

ing for the cheap and ephemeral burst of admiration that might have been won by flinging his twenty sovereigns into the same basin at once, but sat proudly erect while his almoner, the butcher, distributed his munificence equally between all the six basins, thereby winning to

794 his interests the hearts of all the patrons and their
796 friends. After the benediction had been pronounced,
[563] the congregation walked thoughtfully home to cool down
and face the future.

It is easy to sneer at the missionaries in the South
797 Pacific as drones sucking the honey that others have
stored; as ministers of the collection-plate rather than
of the Gospel; as moral teachers whose grim code is re-
797 sponsible for the deterioration of native morality. The
177 books written about the Pacific Islands have been the
[114] work of either missionaries or passing travellers, and
hostile criticism by the latter has been in obedience to
the natural law of reaction after the sometimes nauseous
series of self-laudatory books given to the world by the
missionaries themselves. Casual travellers, who hoped to
see the natives in their primitive simplicity of manners,
are disappointed to find them clad and in their right
minds, and galled at the restrictions, apparently arbi-
trary and unreasonable, laid upon them by their spirit-
ual guides. They have read much of the hardships of the
missionary's life. They find him sleek and prosperous, the
autocrat of his flock, living in a good house, travelling
in a comfortable and well-found boat: they feel that an
attempt has been made to obtain their sympathies under
false pretences, and they write down mission enterprise
a fraud, and the system a mere institution for raising
[563] money from the gullible native. In this extreme view
[441] they are supported by the Europeans of the place,—for
traders do not love missionaries, regarding them as com-
petitors who, besides crippling trade, interfere with their
domestic arrangements.

But now that the missionaries are only called upon to
797 carry on the work founded by their predecessors, and know nothing of the danger their predecessors had to encounter, it is not astonishing that, among men recruited from a lower stratum of society and education, there should be some whose behaviour has detracted from the credit of the Missionary Society, and that these have been taken by hostile critics as types of the body of which they are members. The two main charges brought against the missionaries of to-day are that they give a first place to the collection of money, and that they have introduced and kept alive among the natives the unedifying spectacle of warring Churches. To the first charge it may be answered that no Church ever was or ever will be carried on without funds, and it is surely to the credit of a mission that they should have induced the people whom they benefit to support their Church and schools instead of leaving them to make appeals to philanthropists for funds to carry on their work. For the missions are not concerned only with the spiritual needs of the natives—they also do the great practical work of maintaining day-schools in every village. The missionaries themselves

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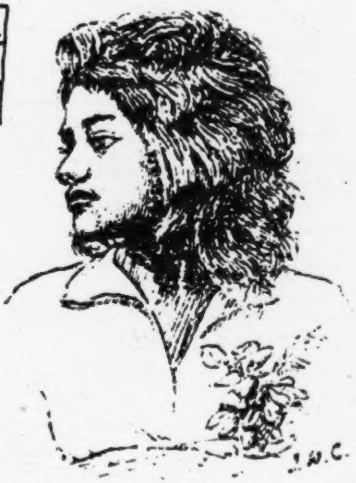

A Tongan schoolgirl.

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14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

would not deny that there have been grave abuses in 797
the means adopted for obtaining subscriptions; but these 794
abuses have not been general, and they have been due to the fact that among the missionaries, as among every considerable body of men, there have been a few who were unworthy of the cause in which they were employed. The second charge is unfortunately true.

I shall not speak of the Church of England Mission 797
working in Melanesia, of the Presbyterian Mission of the New Hebrides, nor of the London Mission of Raratonga, Samoa, and New Guinea, for none of those Societies are concerned with Tonga; but I shall confine myself to a review of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission of Australasia and the Roman Catholic Mission of the Société de Marie.

The Wesleyans sent their first missionary to Tonga in June 1822, and after three years' interruption they began work in earnest in 1826. There were two years of doubt and difficulty, three of slow but certain advance, and then they found themselves successful beyond their wildest hopes. With the conversion of King Josiah Aleamotu and of Taufaahau their cause was assured. The people followed their hereditary chiefs, and the heathen party became an ever-dwindling minority. Haapai and Vavau were Christian to a man: two-thirds of Tongatabu had embraced the new religion. Yet in the year 1835 we find this minority so hostile to Christianity that they are prepared to fight rather than accept it. In 1837 they are actually embarked in the hopeless struggle against an overwhelming majority. In 1840 they have driven back their assailants, even when supported by an English ship-of-war, and the hated missionaries are in flight. Yet there

797 his wildest dreams can have guessed how he
would carry it out. For when Mr. Baker came
797 back to Tonga it was as an emissary of the
794 Church of England, speciously introduced to
[795] the Tongans as the *Jiaji a Vika* (the Church
of Queen Victoria). Rebuffed by the Bishop of Honolulu, to whom the Bishop of London has delegated his authority over this part of the globe, he had persuaded the Bishop of Dunedin to give him a licence as lay reader. It is no part of my business to criticise this bishop's action, or to relate how the bishops of New Zealand intervened to dissuade him from going himself to Tonga to support his protégé, but I may be pardoned for asking under what authority of custom or ecclesiastical law one bishop can issue a licence for what is virtually the diocese of another.

794 The new Church was just the political weapon
578 that the party of the rejected princess wanted.
It offered a proof of discontent, it was a new
experiment in Churches, and, above all, it
[642] annoyed the king. It was safer than burning
houses, because, at the first whisper of reprisal, you could stand boldly forth and quote the Constitution about liberty of conscience. At the time of our visit Ofa had joined the new

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

Church with most of her relations; and poor blind 794
Tungi, her kinsman, had so far conquered his 578
aversion to Mr. Baker as to permit services to
be held in his premises. Mr. Baker had been 794
careful not to define his exact position to the 797
Tongans. All that a stole and surplus could do towards making him an ordained clergyman had been done. He did not bother the Tongans with any nonsense about Church government; the one thing he did understand was making a collection, and he held his first while I was at Nukualofa. Something under three hundred adherents subscribed nearly £200. I asked Ofa who kept the money. Had they churchwardens?

"Churchwardens," she said, "what are they?"

I explained. No, they had no churchwardens.

"Then who keeps the money?"

"Misa Beika."

It was melancholy to see how cruelly Fortune 622
had used Tungi, whom I had left the most influential chief in Tonga. While his son Tukuaho [164]
was still alive his sight had begun to fail, and he had made the voyage to Samoa to consult a German oculist, who pronounced his case to be
beyond hope. Hardly had night closed in upon [165]
him when Tukuaho, his only son and the most popular chief in Tonga, died suddenly of heart

778 In the Tongan Group the islands of Ata and Eua, and probably Euaiki
(Little Eua) were first created. Eua was formed by Tangaloa, the
823 craftsman, pouring down into the sea the scraps from his work-shop.
At about the same time as this truly magnificent use was being made
of the shavings from the bench of the craftsman god, Ata slowly made
its appearance above the sea. On Ata were born the first men, three
in number, formed from a worm bred by a rotten plant, whose seed
was brought by Tangaloa from heaven. These three were afterwards
provided by the Maui with wives from the Underworld. The well-known fishing expedition of the Maui hauled to the surface many of
the remaining islands known to the early Tongans.

778 Later Maui Atalanga and Maui Kijikiji came up from the Underworld and settled at Koloa in Vavau, where a temple of Maui stood up
to the time of the introduction of Christianity. Tradition is not quite
consistent at this point. Atalanga married a woman of Vavau, whom
one account represents as the mother of Kijikiji, who yet is regarded
in other accounts, probably the most usual and authoritative, as having
been a member of the expedition which fished up Vavau, and various
other parts of Tonga, Samoa and Fiji. The whole question of
the position of the Vavau of myth has an interest and difficulty not
unlike that attaching to the Hawaiki series of place-names. Tregear,
in his "Maori Comparative Dictionary," says (s.v., Wawau), "There
is reason for thinking that Vavau in the Friendly Islands is not the
mythological Vavau or Wawau; the name has been localised anew
all over the Pacific." It is uncertain whether there will be ever
complete enough information to make definite statement possible.

794 In spite of the widespread recognition of these major deities the
practical affairs of life apparently did not so much compel resort to
them as to a number of gods whose cults were in some cases nation-wide, and in others confined to different localities, or more strictly to
565 various groups of people. The greater cults are always especially
[794] associated with chiefs and great gentlemen attendants of chiefs, who
are their people's representatives before the gods as in more mundane
[771] affairs. In fact the deference and observances paid to the chiefs, and
particularly to the Tui Tonga, would seem to be a very practical part
643 of the ordinary man's religion. The attribute of chiefliness, of which
[781] the Tui Tonga was the human fountain-head, was essentially a thing
sacred and of those things which men regard with religious awe.
[776] Chiefliness is, in its origin, a gift of the gods, Ahoeitu, the first Tui
Tonga, being the son of Eitumatubua, the Lord of Heaven, and a
776 human mother. Although the gods of which one hears were
[778] worshipped by chiefs and larger or smaller groups, this does not mean
apparently that almost any object might not be adopted as sacred by
a man and his household. There is a gradation in the divine hierarchy

From my conversations with the Tongans I am not quite sure 794
where the votaries and the priests sat during consultation of a god, 209
but think that the people would sit round at a respectable distance on
the green sward in front of the temple, and the priests would sit
either just within or without the doorway. Descriptions seem to point
to some such arrangement as this, and it is rendered almost certain by
its thorough agreement with universal custom in the paying of a
ceremonial visit to an important chief. It is hardly necessary to add 195
that all references to the gods were couched in the most deferential
language, terms being employed which were applied to the Tui Tonga
and the Tamaha alone amongst mortals, though used now of the
constitutional king. Such words are naturally used to-day of the [178]
Deity in Christian worship.

Another common mark of deference in approaching a superior is 292
the wearing of a mat about the waist, girt on with a cinnet-rope belt.
This addition to the dress, called a *taovala*, is universally worn at the 576
fono, or assemblies where the people are gathered together to hear the
will of their chiefs, or of the government, or when approaching a
great chief, especially to ask a favour. It is also worn at funerals.
Undoubtedly it was worn by the people approaching one of the
ancient gods. A mark of still deeper humility is a wreath of the 301
leaves of the *ifi* (*Inocarpus edulis*, Tahitian chestnut) round the neck. 576
This badge of deference was used, for example, by supplicants suing
for their lives. To sit with the head bowed, and these leaves round [824]
the neck, was the strongest possible expression of humility and [516]
entreaty. Whether it were a common adjunct or not of worship I do
not know, but it would seem highly probable that it was employed at
all events on occasions of great stress. Mariner describes it as being
worn on a certain occasion in entering a temple, but in this instance
the wearers were pleading for their lives to a great chief.

Naturally the gods varied in power and influence. Some were 776
resorted to by the whole nation; others were the gods of powerful 794
chiefs and their tribes and clans, whilst others enjoyed a more limited
prestige, their devotees being the little group of allied households
which forms the usual social unit. There was nothing to prevent a 776
a man's setting up a tutelary deity of his own if he were so disposed.
The number of the gods, moreover, was liable to constant augmentation 769
by the deification of the illustrious or well-beloved dead. A
notable instance is Fakailoatonga, a chief related to Finau, of Vavau.
In his life-time Fakailoatonga was a famous warrior, and subdued, or 769
at least over-ran, a large part of Tongatabu, "but he was a leper." 734
For long he was ignorant of the nature of his malady, and his friends
sedulously refrained from reference to it. But one day a companion [762]
told him the ghastly truth, and Fakailoatonga, in his disgust, buried
himself alive. After his death he was elevated to the goddage. In the 771

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

825 The *kanahe* (mullet), the sacred creature of the clan called Fainga'a,
613 *matabules* of the Tui Tonga. These *matabules* are descended from the
hero Tui Motuliki, who was the son of the Fijian woman Sinailele
644 (this name is perhaps connected with Hina, the widely recognised
779 Polynesian goddess), and the bones of the dead Maui Atalanga and
Maui Kijikiji. Tui Motuliki was even mightier than the great Maui,
and whilst yet a child performed the most amazing prodigies of
773 strength and valour. The mullet was from infancy sacred (*tabu*) to
825 him, and an old tale relates that he prohibited its use as food by any
man. When he came from Fiji to Tonga he brought his *tabu* with
784 him, and the Tui Tonga is said to have extended the prohibition on
262 eating it to all the men of Tonga. There seems to be no remembered
custom to support this tradition so far as full-grown mullet is concerned, though there is corroboration of the statement that the young mullet (called *te'efo*) was *tabu* to the men.

The *veka* (rail) was the god of Manumua, a chief on the island of
825 Eua. It was also the god of Motuku-vee-valu (Eight-legged-heron),
776 a chief in the west of Tongatabu, and the father of Muni, of whom
773 exploits are related very similar to those of Maui. It is said that
Motuku-vee-valu and his descendants were chiefs in the west of
Tongatabu before the present Haa-Ngata lords. This, if true, is a
825 very interesting statement. The rail figures prominently in the story
of Muni, guiding the hero, who had been cast into the sea at birth
[779] and was completely unknown to his father, to the old gentleman as he
was hiding from his foe Bunga (coral), the chief of Eastern Tonga-
[794] tabu. Those who belonged to the rail cult used to take the bird about
with them. This practice is indicated in the story of the birth of the
[773] beautiful Vae.

The *lulu* (owl) is mentioned as sacred to a family group in
[644] Haapai who belonged to the Falefa, already noticed as *matabules* of the
Tui Tonga. Possibly it was sacred to all the Falefa. In passing it
[551] may be remarked that Falefa seems to mean "wide-spread," "widely
ramified," like the water flowing on all sides from the pandanus (*fa*) in
a heavy rain.

825 The best remembered feature of the owl's supernatural functions is
its habit of revealing the pregnancy of women. If the owl hooted near
843 a house in the afternoon it was known that there was a pregnant
woman in that household. The meddlesome bird never blurted out its news unless for some reason the lady were keeping her interesting condition a secret, or were as yet unaware of it herself.

825 The hooting of an owl near a house late at night was a sign that
[787] some disaster would befall the unlucky home.

Toke-i-Moana, that Eel-in-the-Open-Sea, was the god of Uiha in
[643] Haapai, whose chief is Malubo. On his mother's side King George
Tubou I. was connected with this family. Two of the king's sons are
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as are the ordinances against allowing domestic animals to 671
stray into public thoroughfares. Blue laws prohibiting work [688]
and play on the Sabbath are observed scrupulously by the
Tongans and diligently enforced among Europeans by the
Tongan police.

So thoroughly saturated is the Tongan with what might 798
be called "tabuism" that his attitude at times becomes
intolerant and even persecuting. A well-educated Tongan [186]
one day remarked to me concerning Sunday picnics of European
residents, "Well. what can you expect from ignorant
foreigners ?" On another occasion I observed a helmsman
on a church-owned passenger vessel severely rebuked for
not joining in a hymn. When the schism occurred in the
Methodist ranks in Tonga and resulted in the establishment
of the Free Church, there was much downright physical
suffering administered to Tongans who preferred the old
faith. A number of these displayed the true martyr spirit.
Others became Roman Catholics rather than join the new
church and still others yielded reluctantly to the call of the
new church.

It should be noted that many Tongans have entered 797
the ranks of missionary workers and taken an important
part in Christianizing Melanesia and New Guinea.

Some Catholic churches in Tonga still use the booming 794
of the huge wooden native drums (lali) to summon their 795
congregations. The Protestant churches seem largely to
have adopted the less inspiring bell. I have noted, too, [202]
Catholic congregations seated cross-legged on the floor.
Protestant congregations seem more generally to use
benches.

A feast for the minister after his Sunday sermon seems 795
to be the established Methodist practice in Tonga. Appar- 796
ently we have here a good old Methodist custom which fits
"hand-in-glove" with the feasting of the priest at the time
of inspiration in pagan days.

Christianity has been a powerful democratizing factor 771
in Tonga. Through it the arbitrary powers of the chiefs 177
have been curbed and conversely the status of the commoner 565
has been bettered. Anciently commoners were supposed to [774]
have perishable souls. To-day their souls are imperishable
like a chief's. In addition to bringing about more of a 177
balance between these two extremes of Tongan society, the 793
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royal line had to be retrieved; and the permanent 643
peace of the country could only be secured by the 669
bold suppression of upstart claimants to power. To accomplish these purposes, the youthful chief addressed himself with impetuous valour and daring. Possessed of great prudence and undaunted courage, accompanied by a physical strength before which all his antagonists quailed, he speedily multiplied his partisans, and gained immense influence. His name, or presence, was a host in itself in every battle, and none of his opponents could long withstand him. There are but few of the old chiefs, now living, who have not measured their strength with his in war, and been made to bite the dust; but all his conquests were accompanied by a liberal and magnanimous policy toward his enemies; so that he laid the foundation of his government not only in the fear but in the affection of his Chiefs and people.

Such were some of the antecedents of the Chris- 643
tian king, whose return in state from Vavau we had the pleasure of witnessing, as already described, and whose personal congratulations and good wishes, upon our safe and timely arrival, went far to knit our hearts, more firmly, to the sacred Missionary work, for which we had come to these "uttermost parts" of the earth.

The day after our interview was the holy Sab- 643
bath. Never before had we spent such a blessed 797
Sabbath. Nukualofa chapel was densely crowded. 794
The king and queen, and a large number of the principal chiefs of the land, were there. We felt considerable disappointment, in one respect, at
the sight before us. With the exception of their [177]
majesties and about ten other persons, no articles [291]

643 of European clothing were worn by any of the
797 people. It was evident that very little advance
794 had been made, in these matters, upon the former
[177] habits of the country. We were almost overpowered,
[291] also, by the sickly odours of scented oils,
with which most of the worshippers were plentifully
[302] anointed. It sparkled on the hair, and trickled
down the bare shoulders of old and young, to our
great disgust. But notwithstanding this drawback
to our pleasure, we certainly felt it "good to be
there." The responses during prayer were united
[796] and hearty; the singing was by no means wanting
in good harmony,—a great advance upon that of the
New Zealanders,—and the sermon was listened to
with profound attention. At the close of the discourse,
Mr. Thomas, the officiating Missionary,
called upon the king to pray. This he did with
[782] much pathos and power, until his feelings quite
[781] overcame him, and a general outburst of weeping,
and warm "Amens," relieved the emotions of the
large congregation. We understood very little of
the language; yet we felt that there was here no
hypocritical or fictitious show, but the genuine and
unsophisticated evidences of a simple and earnest
religion.

797 The lamented death of the Rev. Francis Wilson, at Vavau, rendered it advisable that his loss should be supplied as soon as possible; and we therefore prepared to advance another stage on our long voyage. A few days happily spent in Nukualofa and the neighbourhood, in observing the native habits, and in acquiring a knowledge of the more simple elements of the language, prepared us to face once more, with cheerfulness, the troubles of sea life. Our final destination was now only about

We all expected death, and prayed for the coming 133
of the 'John Wesley.' O, why did she not come? 731
All the people here are afraid of the wrath of God.
Sinners have confessed and forsaken their sins. [783)
God has shown mercy as well as wrath; and nearly all the people meet in class."

It is not to be wondered at that a deep, and 731
wide-spread, religious awakening should have fol- 781
lowed the solemn scenes attendant upon the eruption; and the first desire of the survivors of the destroyed village, and, indeed, of all the inhabitants, seemed to be to escape from the presence of a power so mighty and destructive. Hence it was but natural that they should long for the appearance of the Mission ship, which was expected about that time on her usual annual visit. That vessel was almost the only link of connexion they had with adjacent islands; and, had it arrived at the time, it would have afforded them the most likely mode of transference to another country.

As soon as the cooling of the surface permitted any 731
exploration of the scene of the calamity, it was deter- 794
mined, by the chiefs of the island, to hold a religious 797
service, as near as possible to the supposed site of the overthrown village. Accordingly a large assemblage of people met, courageously yet solemnly, under the shadow of the largest volcano, then still in action. John Latu, the then resident Assistant Missionary, delivered on the occasion a most touching and impressive discourse from these words: "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

After a considerable time had elapsed, the peo-

731 794 797 ple became more calm, and all idea of leaving their home was abandoned. The state of the island shows, however, that, at any moment, they may be exposed to the recurrence of similar, and perhaps even more fatal, visitations. Under these circumstances, it is satisfactory to know that a large proportion of the people are genuine Christian believers, and that even the unconverted among the community have the fear of God before their eyes, and are under daily religious instruction and influence of one kind or another.

133 In the beginning of the year 1854, while the writer was residing at Lifuka, in Haabai, another new volcano broke out, with great violence, on the Island of Late, which lies in latitude 18° 35′ S., and longitude 175° 16′ W. Although several weeks elapsed before correct information reached us of what had happened, yet, on the night of the eruption, the loud roaring of the volcano was heard by us at Lifuka, distant from Late about fifty miles. From the shore of our island, an immense pillar of smoke was seen during the day; and at night, the fire of the volcano was distinctly visible from several of the islands that had the advantage of a higher elevation than Lifuka. The position [797] of the island, and the direction of the prevailing wind, carried the effects of the eruption more towards Vavau than Haabai; and these were thus briefly described by the resident Missionary, the Rev. George Daniel.

"We have lately had an eruption at Late. I do not know whether you in Haabai would see anything of it; but here we have had a most fearful smothering. The people say that the fall of dust when Fonua Lei broke out, was nothing when com-

159 professed Christianity; and, after a while, was truly
563 converted. His heathen relatives then tried by
various means to force from him a recantation
797 of his religion. But, rather than yield before their
793 persecutions, or to their persuasions, he embraced
an opportunity that presented, of making his escape
to the Friendly Islands, where he knew he would
be permitted to worship God in peace. Although
often solicited since then to return to Lakemba,
where he would at once be assigned no mean station
among the ruling chiefs, he has steadily refused;
preferring rather to hold the sacred office of a Minister
in the Church of Christ, and to labour for the
spiritual benefit of the people amongst whom
his early religious impressions were fostered and
159 ripened into maturity. Faubula was a great
797 favourite with us, in all our Missionary boating
expeditions. He was intrepid, skilful, and hearty.
157 He was also possessed of a fund of natural vivacity
563 and wit, which enabled myself and the boatman, who
always accompanied me, to pass pleasantly many
an hour upon the sea, under a blazing sun, which
otherwise would have been wearisome enough.

797 Vavau contained, when we arrived, nearly three
thousand church members. There were thirty-two
[794] preaching-places, seventeen of which were reached
by water. The others varied in distance, from the
Mission station, from two to ten miles. Having
no horses, at that time, the labours of the Missionaries
were extremely exhausting. The inland
journeys were commenced before sunrise, and pursued
during the cool of the morning; but, whilst
thus avoiding one evil, another was encountered,
equally great, if not worse. The roads, in most places,
[491] were no better than footpaths through the long
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797 refreshments by our kind entertainers, we sailed again for home.

March 7th.—Started at daybreak for Hologa, a place nine miles distant from Neiafu. There having been heavy rains during the last few days, the roads were in bad condition. The country is very undulating in this direction, and, in some localities, the rains having washed away the alluvial soil from the underlying strata of clay, it was almost impossible to keep one's footing, or make any advance. We were met, however, by a party of men
797 from Hologa, who, knowing the state of the roads,
494 had brought a *fata*, or rude palanquin, on which to
[493] carry me forward. It was not so stylish as those of the Eastern continent, but it afforded a welcome relief to wearied limbs. It consisted of a cocoanut leaf mat doubled, and having a pole inserted at each end. I sat upon the mat, and was borne along by four men. The poor fellows had many a slip, and were bathed in perspiration; but they would not hear of my descending again to walk. They seemed really proud at having a Missionary to carry, and were not a little pleased that my weight was nothing when compared to that of my venerable and portly colleague, Mr. Turner, for whom they had often done the same kind service.
797 The delightful work of the day amply made up for all the toil. Found it very profitable to explain the Scripture lessons read. The people seemed greatly interested; and when the service was concluded, and we had retired to the Teacher's house, many questions were asked on various passages of Scripture, to all of which I gave explanations according to my ability.

[794] Friday, 12th.—To-day we have been busy enough
[431]

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in a new and pleasing work,—that of receiving contributions 797 in cocoa-nut oil from our Church members 794 in Neiafu alone, in aid of the General Mission 431 Funds. Each separate group of people advanced, bringing their contributions to the front of the [533] Mission House, while singing some well-known hymn tune, or a plaintive native air to suitable words, expressive of Christian experience and joy. The sight was highly pleasing and suggestive. About one hundred and thirty gallons were received. This is a fair beginning: and, as all the places in Haafuluhao are engaged to do something, we expect to have a considerable quantity ready, for shipment to the colony, on the arrival of the "John Wesley." The few Englishmen residing here have also sent in contributions of several dollars; and their example has been followed by some of the chiefs, who have had the means of obtaining money from ships and traders.

Sunday, 14th.—Preached this morning at our 797 large chapel in Neiafu; but, in consequence of an excruciating headache and feverishness, felt unequal to any great exertion. The weather extremely sultry and the heat intense. Having rested a little after service, I went to an adjacent village, to preach what may be called a Missionary Sermon. The object was to encourage the present movement among the natives for the support and extension of Missionary effort among themselves, and in surrounding islands in these seas. Our service continued in the midst of heavy rain and storm till after sunset. Being thoroughly exhausted, Noa Maui, one of my boatmen who had accompanied me, would not allow me to walk. Both of us were wet and weary, but he insisted [482] upon carrying me all the way home on his broad shoulders. The Lord will reward him in "that day."

174 [784] and the many religious restrictions and prohibitions connected therewith, may be easily interpreted as a relic, much changed and corrupted, from the ceremonial observances of the Jews.

[796] 3. The great feast of the "*Inaji*," or offering of first-fruits to the gods every year, seems a custom or religious ceremony of purely Jewish origin.

[304] 4. The same may be said of the rite of circumcision, which was regularly practised by them. An uncircumcised person was considered mean and despicable; and the custom has only disappeared in recent years.

[783] [764] 5. Every person and thing that touched a dead body was considered unclean, and remained so until after the lapse of a certain number of days. During that allotted time, those whose duties compelled them to do the rites of burial, were not allowed to feed themselves, or to touch the food prepared by others. They were therefore carefully fed by attendants.

[846] [783] 6. Females, after child-birth, and after other periods of infirmity, were enjoined strict separation; and were subjected to ceremonial purifications.

[778] 7. The Tonguese had cities of refuge, corresponding to those instituted among the Jews; the uses and regulations of which were closely akin to theirs.

[793] 8. The priestly orders and functions resembled, in some of their features, those of the Mosaic law. The *Taula*, or priest, was supposed to become inspired by the god, as his shrine or representative, while receiving and answering the prayers and sacrifices of the worshippers. These were offered
[794] through the *Feao*, or attendant upon the Taula;

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and it was also his duty to maintain the god-house, [794)
or temple, in due repair and order.

The religion of the Tonguese, as it existed when 771
they became known to the civilized world, incorporated no abstract principles of belief. It was rather a system of despotism, in which deities, ceremonies, and restrictions, had been indefinitely multiplied, till it presented a chaos of dark superstitions, into which the population plunged headlong, through slavish fear and ignorance. The [565)
mysteries and enactments of heathen worship, although submitted to by the chiefs themselves, unquestionably were intended more for the perpetuation of their power and influence, than to direct the ideas of the people to matters of spiritual and eternal interest, or even to those involving temporal improvement. No spirit of benevolence pervaded the system. It abounded in punishments for the present life, and in dark threatenings for the future. *Bulotu*, the Tonguese paradise, was 775
reserved only for the spirits of departed chiefs and [565)
persons of rank; who, in their turn, became the [782]
servants of the presiding genius of Bulotu, and as [769]
such were often worshipped and sacrificed to by the [776)
people, for the purpose of securing their interposition with the gods. Of the fate of the *tuas*, or [565]
common people, there was no certainty whatever; [774)
and it was doubtful whether they had any souls at all. A general opinion, however, did prevail, that there was a future state, and with it vague and conflicting notions of rewards and punishments. Their traditions referred to the creation of the 773
world, and probably also to the deluge; but, 776
even then, according to their ideas, a multiplicity of gods existed. Savage rites, and deities who 181
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footed beasts, and creeping things." (Rom. i. 22, 23.) 776

The sacrifices offered to the gods consisted chiefly of animals, fruits, vegetables, and native valuables. Upon special occasions, however, finger-joints were offered; and, in great emergencies, human victims were immolated to propitiate the angry deities. These acts were by no means unfrequent; and their was a certain *faahiga*, or tribe, from which the sacrificial victim was usually selected. 782

The priesthood was hereditary, and constituted a numerous and powerful body, in former times, whose support taxed, very heavily, the labour and substance of the people. The priests took rank from their gods and chiefs; the worship of the latter determining, in great measure, the popularity of the former. The power of the priest, though it partook more of a religious character, was second only to that of the chiefs. Their persons were esteemed sacred because of their presumed familiarity with the gods; and these spiritual lords of the people, like the temporal ones, neglected no opportunity of personal aggrandizement, and the advance of their selfish interests. Even over the warrior-chiefs, the priests exercised a powerful influence, and often made their religious fears and blind devotion subservient to their covetous desires. In sickness, or when under the fear of sorcery, their favourable consideration was only to be secured by gifts, proportioned to the rank of the applicant. Incantations to be practised upon enemies, or counter ceremonies, to ward off imaginary evil influences from them, could only be obtained at great cost. Of these death-dealing incantations, both chiefs and 793 [794] [778] [754] 754

797 159 [794] relations, and former companions, forsook Houma, and settled with Hafoka upon this new locality in Fatai. Temporary houses were built, in one of which I preached the first sermon to a congregation of eighteen persons, eight of whom were new converts from heathenism. Before a year had gone by, there were at Fatai thirty-five church members, a good chapel, a school, and a resident native teacher. There was also a fair prospect of a regular accession of converts from Houma.

797 123 763 While this was going on, Vaca, the old Houman chief, died. I visited him during his last sickness, and was with him only a few hours before his decease. I talked to him very faithfully about his soul. As on many former occasions, so now, he expressed his thanks for my visit and advice; but he intimated his unalterable resolve to die as he had lived, a heathen. But, notwithstanding this, he called his children and friends around him, after I had left, for the purpose of urging them to live at peace with their Christian neighbours; and he even advised them all to become Christians themselves. Shortly after he had done this he expired.

565 [662] [669] Another chief was installed with barbaric honours, who assumed the title of his predecessor without any consultation of the wishes of the king. This new ruler became an easy tool in the hands of designing men, both in Houma and Bea, in bidding defiance to the government of the king, and in the attempt which was finally made to overthrow his power altogether.

798 669 712 721 Early in the year 1851, the fortress of Bea was put into a state of warlike defence, without the slightest provocation from any quarter. For

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797 was greatly surprised to see the alteration made in
this place, by the untiring efforts of its small but
increasing population. There are now thirty-five
[794] church members, out of about seventy residents, all
of whom have forsaken Houma, and heathenism,
during the last fifteen months. I arranged to-day for the order and work of their new school. Many of these people are beginning already to read the New Testament. I have no doubt that more of the Houma people will follow their example. There are many persons there whose attachment to Christianity is only kept secret from a fear of the chiefs; and, when these find that they can with safety leave Houma for Fatai, where houses and land will be provided for them, under the king's authority, they are not very likely to remain much longer where they are.

Tuesday, 13th.—Visited Matahau and Fahefa, to
examine and arrange the schools. At both these
places, I heard a good deal about the agitation
among the heathen of Houma. I baptized two old
[795] men, who recently came from thence, and who have
given evidence of a sincere conversion from heathen-
ism. They tell us that there are many desirous of
[798] becoming Christians, but that the chiefs restrain
them, by saying, "No, let us wait, and see what Bea does. If they (the Beans) fight, let us fight too."

Saturday, 17th.—A vessel hove in sight, bearing
up for Nukualofa, which I at first hoped might be
the Mission brig; but, in this we were disappointed.
We hope the latter will not be long delayed, seeing
we are now miserably short of all kinds of supplies
for household use. About seven o'clock this even-
[133] ing, we experienced one of the severest earthquakes

797 We praised God for what the Gospel had done, in the
798 restraint of evil passions, which formerly, on such
669 an occasion, would have rioted in deeds of violence
727 and blood.

On the following day, a speech was made by the
798 king, in which he ordered the demolition of the
669 fortifications of Bea, as the only punishment to be
727 inflicted upon the vanquished, and as a pledge that
war should no more desolate the land, if he could
prevent it. All were commanded to return to
their various homes as speedily as possible, and to
resume the ordinary pursuits of peaceful times.

Thus closed, without further bloodshed, a struggle
that had been begun with the design of overturning
civil authority and order in the Friendly
Islands; but which, under the over-ruling providence
of God, was destined to prove a death-blow to
heathenism. The wisdom and clemency of the
(643) king, both during the war and at its happy conclusion,
won for him the respect and love of even
his bitterest foes. Bright days of peace and prosperity
once more dawned upon Tongatabu. The
wild passions that had been aroused in the heat of
conflict speedily subsided. Deserted villages were
filled again with the hum of busy life. The quiet
pursuits of home life and industry were resumed;
and a new and promising start was made by the
Tonguese in national progress, such as they had
never made before. The idols were now utterly
[797] abolished. Not one heathen temple remained;
and, not many months after the war terminated,
the entire population of the Friendly Islands acknowledged
and worshipped the "one living and
true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent."

797 794 It could not be expected that five months of

political agitation, and of actual civil war, should 797
pass away without inflicting serious damage upon 794
the spiritual character,. and interests, of our infant
churches. The evil effects were painfully shown
in the impaired tone of piety in many, the unsettledness
of others, and the drifting away from the
church of those who had more of the form than of
the power of godliness. Diminution of numbers,—
not so much, however, in Tongatabu itself as in
the other groups of islands,—and of local finances,
were the natural results of such a state of things,
for a season. These serious evils were also aggravated
by scarcity of provisions, and prevailing
sickness, caused by the exposure and toil to which
so many thousands of the male inhabitants had
been subjected. The return of peace was hailed, 797
therefore, by all with unfeigned delight; and we [728]
rejoiced, most of all, because the whole country was
now open to receive Christian instruction. There
was only one cause of anxiety still remaining. The 797
French Priests were restless, and were openly bent 798
upon further mischief. The priest who went away
during the war to seek French aid, returned in a
small trading vessel from Samoa; and when he
found the war ended, declared that he would
have ample reparation in due time. He subsequently [648]
departed for Tahiti, where he lodged certain
charges and claims, against the Tonguese, before
the French Governor.

Accordingly, on the 12th of November, 1852, a 798
French ship of war, "La Moselle," commanded by 648
Captain Belland, anchored off Nukualofa. The
same priest who had gone to Tahiti was on board.
We were told, by one of the respectable officers of
the ship that this priest had been careful, during the

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Taufa-ahau for a life of no ordinary incident and 797 usefulness. [643]

The very rapidity and completeness with which the Gospel spread through the Haabai islands deprives its history of those striking incidents always attendant upon success achieved under difficulty, or upon religious progress accomplished in the face of persecution. But, on the other hand, what Christian mind can consider the scene presented here, without emotions of wonder and holy joy. Through the weakest instrumentality results the most extraordinary were brought about.

With the exception of three out of eighteen 797 inhabited islands in the Haabai group, all had 794 made a renunciation of heathenism before Mr. Thomas landed at Lifuka, in January, 1830; and when he left the group, on his return to Tonga, in December, 1831, a short period of less than two years, there were then five hundred and fifty church members. Being succeeded by the Rev. Peter Turner, that number was nearly doubled, within a few months. In addition to the residence 797 of the Missionaries at Lifuka, native teachers occupied five of the principal islands: Haano, Foa, Nomuka, Oua, and Mougaone, were all under the care and instruction of these men, even at that early period. Idolatry, except in part of one 797 island, was entirely abandoned. Houses of prayer 177 to the true God had superseded the temples of demons previously worshipped. The Lord's day was observed with scrupulous attention, while crowds assembled, on every occasion of worship, to hear words whereby many of them were savingly converted. The establishment of schools also kept 797 pace with the spread of religious fervour. At the 871

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its wishes known to the people. As far as the land is concerned, his 621
role is that of a field officer who knows which tax allotments are vacant 644
and which others are occupied and by whom. He was described to me as being related to the chief.[18]

There are four churches in the village, each belonging to a different 794
denomination. These are the Free Church of Tonga, the Church of 795
Tonga, the Wesleyan Church, and the Mormon Church. Although there are also Roman Catholics in the village, they have no church of their own. There are church functions within each denomination which demand the co-operation of all its own members. If a Mormon Church is being built, for instance, this is regarded as properly the task of the Mormons only and not of anyone belonging to any of the other Churches, between whom there is only minimal liaison.

Most of the households contain no more than an elementary family. 592
In some cases there are relatives of various descriptions staying with such families, and in others there are guests (including some from other islands in the Tongan Group). In a considerable number of cases it is affinal relatives, such as the wife's mother or brother, who live in the household with the elementary family. In a very limited number of cases, there are more than one married couple in a household. In every case, however, the household is the most persistent unit associated with work on the land.

Of unifying principles covering the *whole* village there are only 621
two: the people's common allegiance and subordination to their chief, 622
and the fact of common allegiance to the Government through its 623
representatives in the village. There is no village council after the [186]
Fijian pattern, or even after the pattern of the Samoan *fono*. There is indeed a Tongan *fono*, but this is a gathering of all the people to hear the orders of the chief, not one where sectional interests within the village are pitted against one another.

The land upon which the village stands and the lands upon which 622
its members plant their food gardens and cash crops are part of the 423
hereditary *tofia* of the high chief of the area. He has *tofia* in several 361
other parts of Tonga, but the one in which this village is situated comprises the following divisions:

1 block for his own use	209 acres
101 *api tukuhau* held within the village	833 "
40 *api tukuhau* held by members of other villages	330 "
6 *api tukuhau* currently vacant	50 "
1 lease	8 "
Total	1430 acres[19]

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[18] There is no reference to a Town Officer in Pangai, only to an overseer who performs similar functions, Beaglehole 1941:25, 30.

[19] The figures given are approximate, being based on a calculation allowing roughly 8¼ acres per *api*. In practice *api* are usually 2 or 3 perches more or less than this figure. The 40 *api* held outside the village are held by members of the "next-door" villages. The lease is to a part-European. [563]

Malae is thus divided by the several kin groups but without an actual 764 fence of demarcation. The people buried in a section of *malae* roughly coincide with those who belong to the same *famili* organisation, but not [612] always. There are mainly three reasons for this discordance. Firstly, it is not allowed to dig a grave in the same spot for about five years after the last burial, which means that one who dies within the five years may be buried with members of another family. Secondly, belonging to a [593] section in the *malae* seems, in the main, to be patrilineally decided; a wife may belong to her husband's place, children except married daughters to their parents' place. But the dead may, under some circumstances, be [593] buried in a section on the basis of their relationship with mother or wife. In the section of 30 at *tua fale kakau* 30's father as well as his unmarried daughter and 4's son were buried in these years. 30's father was born in Mu'a and came to this village to marry. When he died, he was buried at the corner of the Pualiki's section, probably because Pualiki's sister was his wife. Since then, the section of 30 seems to have acquired its position separately from the main section. Thirdly, a local bond is also recognised in deciding the section in which one shall be buried. For if a person from another village happens to die while staying here with some family, he will be buried in the section to which the family with whom he was staying belonged. A woman married out of the village died while she was back at her native home. She was buried beside her parents' grave.

Church Affiliation

All Tongans are Christian. We can not understand fully the village 795 life without Christianity. There are a number of religious observances [796] for example, attendance at church service several times a week, strict [512] keeping of the Sabbath, prayers before each meal and before going to bed, which are integral parts of daily life for the villagers .

The Free Wesleyan Church, the largest in the Kingdom, holds a large majority of the village members. After this sect come the Free Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church and a few Mormons in this order. There are three churches in this village. The Free Wesleyan 794 Church and the Free Church of Tonga have professional stewards who stay here during the term of their service. The steward of the Catholic Church is a villager. The Mormons go to church in the next village. [368] The following table shows the church affiliation of the *famili* organisation. [612]

The basic principle in church affiliation is that a wife should follow 795 her husband, and the children should follow their father, which indicates [593] a patrilineal principle at work. But this is not always the case, as is shown in the table. In one case the elder brother (11) is Catholic while the younger brother (15) is Mormon. They may change their affiliation, for example in accord with the school-religion in which they were educated, or sometimes of their own free will.(18) 32 gives an example. He was a member of the Free Church of Tonga until 1956, but some unpleasant matter in the church made him and all the members of his nuclear family change their membership to the Free Wesleyan Church to

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18. Beaglehole 1941: 128-130.

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If a man attends church service regularly and keeps on doing good, 795 he will be allowed to be called *lotu fefui* (catechumen), and if he can keep 554 on having a good record a few years more, he will be elevated to the status of *malanga*. A few excellent men among the *malanga* may be promoted to *faifekau* by the church president.[14] It is a great honour and much respected to become *malanga* or *faifekau*.

Fakaafe for the New Year

The last day of the year, it is said, is the most important day for 796 the Tongan. On this day, the members of the Free Wesleyan Church, the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga have *fakaafe*, a feast, thanking God for the peace of the past year and praying for the happiness of the coming year. Each *malanga* is invited to one *fakaafe* to say a grace. After the feast, a *malanga* is presented with a bark cloth and a *sisi* 796 (ornamented girdle or waist band or festoon made of flowers and leaves) 574 by the host. It is a great honour for anyone to give *fakaafe* on this [292] occasion. This privilege is conferred upon him by the steward of the [554] church. In this village, eight men, (4, 6, 14, 16, 29 - steward, 30, 32, 34) [794] in the Free Wesleyan Church and four men (2, 18, 26, 27) in the Free Church of Tonga have been privileged to give *fakaafe* for many years. Some of their kinsmen who help to make *umu* (food cooked in an earth [252] oven) are then invited to share the joy of the feast. This occasion offers us a good opportunity to observe kinship functioning. The details of the feast are as follows:

TABLE 8 — *Fakaafe*

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Household number	Those who prepared food	Those who took a meal together	Food served
4	the members of his household only	32 (*malanga*), 8 and his wife, The household members.	4 pieces of yam, 3 of *kape* (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*), 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 2 chickens, etc.
6	his son and 12	30 (*malanga*), 5. The household members.	10 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 1 basket of sweet potato, some fish, 1 pig, 4 pounds of canned beef, 4 pounds of canned mutton etc.
14	two of his friends, the members of his household	28 (*malanga*), 20, a woman from another village.	6 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 3 chickens, 12 pounds of canned beef.

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[14] Rank differentiation in the different churches varies a little.

Those kinsmen who help and are invited vary according to the scale 796
of *fakaafe*. For example, 16 gave one of the biggest *fakaafe*. Those who 574
gathered for cooking on this occasion were his half brother (24), his 602
mother's half brother (28) with his son (23), his father's father's brother 612
(22), his wife's brother (15), and 21's daughter's husband, between
whom and 16 the relationship was not clear. They all belong to the Free [795]
Wesleyan Church except 15 and 21's daughter's husband, who are
Mormons. The villagers stress that the feast is offered to the God, not [776]
for themselves, and they know that the feast is under the prescription of
the church. The privilege of giving the feast is conferred by the steward, [794]
who also selects *malanga* to be invited, but those who help and attend it
are not necessarily the same sect members. In case of 2, a member of [795]
the Free Church of Tonga, he invited his mother's sister's sons with their
wives (33) and 9's daughter of twelve years old, all of whom are Catholic,
and his daughter with her husband (8), members of the Free Wesleyan
Church. He invited no one except *malanga* from his own church.
Mutual help among relatives is still found on such an occasion of religious [476]
character. Yet, this does not mean that those who participate are selected on the basis of *famili* or *famili* organisation. There seems no particular
rule for selecting the participants.

On the last day of *uike lotu* (a prayer week in the beginning of the [782]
new year), Pualiki gave one of the biggest feasts in the name of his second
son. Eighteen pigs and more than twenty chickens were cooked for this
feast, and over twenty men helped the famil yin preparation. Pualiki was [476]
helped by one or two men each from 14, 10, 1 (his sons' households), 34,
18, 31 (his brothers' households), 7, 6, 20, 23 (the households of his
mother's relations); four men from 4 (the household of his father's
relation); three men from 9 (the household not related).

It is difficult from this list to determine which side of his relations [476]
helped him more.

Land Use

According to Tongan law, every male Tongan on reaching sixteen 423
years of age, is entitled to receive a grant of 8¼ acres as *api tukuhau* and [884]
1 rood 24 perches as *api kolo*. But the actual circumstance is not always
in accord with the law. Even in Nukuleka, which is the Government 423
Estate, only 21 men over sixteen years of age have *api tukuhau*, while 28 621
have not. Among the 28 men, there are those who are not married or,
even if married, are still living with their father or wife's father or elder
brother who have *api tukuhau* in the same households. The remaining
11 men out of the 28 keep nevertheless their own independent households.
The following are the relations from whom these 11 men borrow part of 423
api tukuhau for cultivating: father; mother (she has received it from her 426
second husband); mother's half brother; grandfather and his brothers; 621
father's mother's sister's son; the third cousin; wife's father; wife's mother;
wife's brother and her sister's husband; one who is not related; Catholic
Church.

It is evident that all except two men borrow the land from their 423
famili or wife's *famili*. *Famili* members should help each other. They 621
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bride's mother to share the pleasure with. She was also very much 585
pleased and gave another bark cloth to her daughter. The young couple 591
had been staying at his parents' house until they built their own hut in
the *api kolo* of his father's a few years later. Her parents eagerly wanted 844
to bring her back for her first delivery. The first son was born under [591]
her parental roof and the new mother spent there about three months for
her recuperation. On the day of its birth, her father made *umu*, including [603]
one chicken and one pig; her mother gave the baby two mats (*fala* [431]
paongo and *fala tofua*) and two sheets of bark cloth (ten *langanga* and
five *langanga*); the husband's mother gave some napkins, mosquito net
and cloth.

Funerals

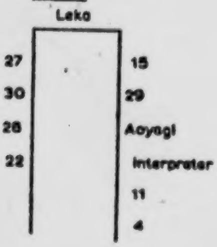
When a husband dies, his wife, mother or brothers wash his body 764
immediately. If the dead person is a women, her mother, sisters or 593
mother's sisters undertake this task, and her husband may help them. [604]
Children may touch their mother, but not their father. After they rub 764
the corpse with candle nut oil, they put on its clothes. Nowadays, a
white shirt is used as an inner wear, and it is wrapped round with bark
cloth called *vala lotu,* for which any kind of new bark cloth is used. Its
size is not uniform; four *langanga* is enough for a child and five to eight
langanga for an adult. This is prepared generally by those women to
whom the dead stands in a near relation, namely his wife, mother,
mother's sister and so on. Some bark cloths and mats are piled in the
middle of the house, on which the corpse wrapped with *valu lotu* is laid.
They cover the corpse again with *ngafingafi* and *kie* which is called *feta'u.*
Instead of these mats a piece of white silk may be used now as a covering
of a corpse.

Then, they send for a steward to lead prayer. Two or three *fahu,* [794]
that is *ilamutu,* of the dead, regardless of sex, takes seats close to the head [782]
of the dead. The seat-ordering among these *fahu* does not seem to be
strict. The family members and relations of the dead sit inside the room; [593]
when the dead is a man his children and sisters are excluded from the
room, and her brothers are excluded when a woman dies. After the
steward finishes his prayer, people express their condolence by turns,
weeping and kissing. The near relations offer *fihu* and bark cloth, and
the remote relations, friends and villagers deck the centre of the room
with a piece of cloth and garland. On this special occasion, the children
and sisters may kiss the corpse to bid farewell to the dead man, and the
brothers may do the same to the dead sister. As soon as they bid farewell,
they should leave the room and rest in a temporarily built shelter. All
day long people mourn and neighbours stand outdoors and sign hymns.
Liongi, that is younger brothers, *fa'e tangata* and those who are inferior
in rank to the dead person, have a lot of miscellaneous works to do, for
example boiling water and serving *topai* (a kind of dumpling in soup)
and tea to visitors. It is the *ulu i famili* who assigns them duties. Meanwhile, 764
one of the *liongi* prepares *kava,* and men drink until next morning. 276
The first cup should go to T. Leka, and the subsequent cup may go 574
to any present *matapule.*

This fact suggests partly that there is no system into which all the people 554
who were gathering at the circle recognised. 593

While I was staying there, I happened to be invited to a feast at the 602
end of the year given by the second son of Pualiki, at which most of the 276
villagers were present. The following Fig. 6 is the table showing the 585
seat arrangement. People took their seats around the long *pola* (food 574
tray made of coconut leaves). Leka sat in the front of the *pola*, on either 574 [123]
side of which the officers of the church sat down. The other people, I 574
was told, might sit down freely anywhere. Among the ten persons, namely 576
Leka and the church officers, 27 belongs to the Free Church of Tonga, 795
15 to the Mormons, 11 to the Catholic, and all the rest are the members 554
of the Free Wesleyan Church. The speech at this feast was given by 554 574
Leka, first, followed by 15 (*matapule* of the Queen), 1, Pualiki's wife, 30 576
(town officer) and 29. In spite of the fact that 11 is the elder brother of [537]
15 and 15's *ulu i famili*, his seat is lower in the seat order than 15's. It
is also incomprehensible why 11 who is a steward of the Catholic Church
took such a low seat compared with the *malanga* of the other churches who
were invited to the places of honour.(30) From 30 to 32 are all *malanga* [561]
of the Free Wesleyan Church who sat in order of the age. Whereas 29
is young, he is highly respected by people as a steward of the Free
Wesleyan Church and always occupies a seat next to Leka in the meeting
of church members.(31) In short, the internal rank of the villagers based 574
on the kinship structure was not reflected in the feast at all, but the 554
rank in the church such as *malanga* and *faifekau* was highly esteemed, 621
and one's age or administrative or honourable status such as town officer 794
or *matapule* were considered among those *malanga* and *faifefau*.(32) It is 561 [796]
easy to see that the *malanga* of the church took the places of honour
because this feast which was given as a church function was dedicated to
God. Nevertheless, this was the only occasion in which an outsider could
know the rank of the villagers.

FIG.6 Seat-ordering at a fakaafe



[123]

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30. Professor Newell suggested to me that the antagonism between Catholics and Protestants may explain this in part. [798]
31. For instance, in *fakaafe* hosted by no. 28 on the day of Christmas nos. 6 (Leka), 5 and 30 (town officer) seated along one side of the *pola* in this order. On the other side of it no. 29 seated facing No. 6.
32. For example, in *fono*, village council, the villagers gather to sit choosing any place around the town officer who conveys the Government instruction. [623]

182 cultural principles that shape people's lives.

621 There are three aspects to the variability of ele-
[121] ments of local organization in Tonga:

a. There is considerable diversity within each of the different kinds of social grouping found at the local level.
[592] For example, among the 145 households in the village of Motulahi in 1970 there were one-generation, two-generation, three-generation, and four-generation households; households with from one to seven family groups; and households with family groups linked by the tie between parents and daughter, others linked by the tie between parents and son, between brother and sister, between sister
[602] and sister, and so on. Not only is there this diversity
[575] of household types, but there are also seemingly different
[794] forms of kin-groups and voluntary associations and a number of different religious denominations, all in the same village.

b. The statistical distributions of these variations is
182 not uniform from one village to the next. For example,
621 each of the three Methodist denominations in Tonga has a
794 church in Motulahi, while the village adjoining Motulahi has only one Methodist church. But whereas the adjoining village has a large Roman Catholic population and has a Roman Catholic church, there is no Roman Catholic church in Motulahi; instead, the few Roman Catholics in Motulahi

attend services in the neighboring village. Other 182
researchers' reports confirm this variability in the inter- 621
village distribution of diversity. Thus, in contrast to [794]
Motulahi, where more than one third of the households in [592]
1970 were composed of more than one family group, Morton reports that in the 42 households in another village in 1971 there was only one household consisting of more than a single family group (1972: 46), and Marcus reports that in a third village in 1972 one fifth of the households were composed of more than one family group (1973: 46-47).

c. The distribution of population among the different forms of any kind of social grouping varies from time to
time. For example, people are liable to change their 182
denominational affiliation. I first became aware of this 621
phenomenon when I attended a service at one of the local 795 794
churches in Motulahi and among the congregants was a woman who I thought belonged to a different local congregation. I spoke with her afterwards and remarked on my surprise at seeing her in church that day; I asked if she was merely a visitor for that day. No, she said, she belonged to the congregation. I asked if I had been mistaken in thinking that she was affiliated with a different denomination, and her response astounded me: "That's right, I used to be a Catholic, but now I'm a Methodist." This was said in a wholly matter-of-fact way, as if it should make perfect

sense to me.

> 121 Nuku'alofa and commute, as do secondary-school children,
> 621 and there is to-and-froing to shops and visiting.
> (2) Motulahi forms a cluster with three other villages
> [872] . . . (total population: about 3,000). Among them
> [873] they have one boys' secondary school, one intermediate
> school, and four primary schools. Children from one
> village attend the school run by a particular church
> [794] in another. Attendance at church and church membership also cuts across village affiliation.
> (3) The villages constitute an interesting political contrast, in that two of them are on government land and two on noble's land, one of which is at present headless because there is a vacant title with little probability of an heir.
>
> Possibly, this village will provide me with something of a cross section of Tongan society outside
> [184] of Nuku'alofa. . . . At the same time, I am aware that more remote villages (which are usually considerably smaller and, by definition, would be less technologically sophisticated and have less interaction with the capital) may be organized very differently. I cannot apprehend the significance of that at this time, and will therefore not concern myself with that problem until it becomes a real question that I could try to answer.

621 In one respect, at least, Motulahi is particularly unlike most other villages in that the population is very
162 much larger than that of most villages. According to the
621 census of 1966, Motulahi's population numbered 1,122, making it one of only eight villages in the whole of Tonga with a population of more than one thousand people. At the same time, half of all the villages in Tonga had a population under three hundred. However, the population of all these small villages accounted for less than one fifth of the total population of Tonga, and only one quarter of all the people living in villages. (Indeed, the aggregate population of villages that had more than seven hundred people was greater than that of all villages

of an *'api* is further enlivened by the children and young 351
people, who spend much of the time outside during the day.

Besides a lively appearance, there is generally a 512
lively (although not noisy) daytime sound in the village.
In the mornings, while children are at school, one hears [287]
the rhythmic tones of wood striking wood as women beat the
bark of the paper mulberry, making tapa cloth. And in the [526]
afternoons there are shouts of excitement as the young
people play basketball. In the late afternoon, the sound [533]
of unaccompanied singing can be heard from one or other of [794]
the churches. But after about nine in the evening, most [574]
people are indoors, at home or visiting neighbors, and
village sounds are muted.

The boundaries of a number of *'api* are marked by a 351
fence, whose main purpose is not to serve as a boundary 417
marker but to keep own livestock in and other livestock
out. Fences, therefore, are intended to be sturdy and are
made of wooden palings or of chicken wire. Some of those
close to the main road, which serve decorative as well as
protective purposes, are ornamented by shrubbery. Houses 351
along the main road have a preferred position, providing 361
ease of access, the opportunity for display, and convenience [554]
in monitoring the comings and goings of others. Houses [487]
further back are reached by narrow trails along which one
must pick one's way with care, or by wider unpaved paths
that soon become muddy bogs when it rains.

612 114 wealth and status, while I am interested in ordinary Tongans and in social organization at the local level. The elites are more likely to be involved in kin groups with a corporate character, and ties between them and with their less successful kinsmen are likely to be supra-local and not dependent on the quotidian interaction that is the sine qua non of the localized fāmili. The fact that Marcus's account of 'the famili' is different from mine reflects the difference in our spheres of investigation, since--as we have seen in relation to the household group--Tongans use the word 'fāmili' to refer to different kinds of groups in different contexts.

Denominational Diversity

602 554 [621] [602] Relationships of kinship are the primary source of economic benefits and material assistance. For prestige in the community, however, one must look beyond kinship. At the national level, status is a function of rank by birth, wealth, occupation and education. These criteria are also significant in the village, but it is the rare villager who derives especially high status from one of [794] these sources.[3] For most adults in the village, and

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[3] There is no satisfactory account as yet of the system of status at the national level of contemporary Tongan society. Partial analyses are provided by Bott (1972), Kaeppler (1971), Marcus (1975a, 1975b, 1976), and Spillius (1959b), but it remains to be explained how the different elements make up the total system.

554 especially for men, their status is largely dependent on
794 their standing in the local church congregation and their
554 participation in congregational activities. The reason
771 this is so lies in the major emphasis on church-related
activities in the daily lives of Tongan villagers. The Beagleholes' description of village life in the late 1930s includes a section on 'religion' (1941: 124-135) that clearly portrays Tongans' absorption with matters relating to church membership and the infusion of everyday life with elements that reflect the prominence of religion in Tongan society, and this portrayal is still valid today.

797 Christianity has long been existent in Tonga. The first missionaries to Tonga were sponsored by the London Missionary Society as part of the Society's earliest venture in the Pacific, in 1797. This mission lasted only three years. The next mission effort, which was sponsored by the British Wesleyan Conference, was not until 1822 and it lasted only one year. While both these missions may be regarded as failures, they provided both the Tongans and the missionary groups with some experience of mission effort. Finally, a permanent mission in Tonga was established
797 by the Wesleyans in 1826. What has been in question in
795 Tonga for more than a century has not been whether
Christianity would be accepted, but which denomination or denominations would prevail. The Wesleyans who came in

795 162 smaller proportion of Roman Catholics in the population as a whole.

795 121 While the distribution of denominational affiliation in any one village must be regarded as the outcome of factors that are best understood in historical perspective, a description of denominational affiliation in a single village should serve to indicate what is involved in being a congregant and will therefore illuminate what it is I am talking about when I speak of Tongans' absorption with matters relating to church membership. Moreover, despite statistical variation in the distribution of denominational affiliation from one village to another, this description will indicate the local-level features of denominational multiplicity.

162 621 795 794 The village of Motulahi exhibits the deversity of denominational affiliation that is characteristic of Tonga. The denominational affiliation of the adult population resident in Motulahi in the early part of 1970 is shown in Table 18. Each of the seven major denominations in Tonga had adherents in Motulahi. However, there can properly be said to be only five congregations in Motulahi (in the situation as it was in 1970), for the Anglican Church has only a single congregation on Tongatapu, based in Nuku'alofa, and the Seventh Day Adventists in Motulahi also belonged to a congregation based in Nuku'alofa (although occasionally

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

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TABLE 18

Denominational Affiliation of Adults Resident in Motulahi, 1970

Denomination	Number	Percentage
Free Wesleyan Church	226	45.7
Mormon Church	92	18.6
Roman Catholic Church	70	14.2
Free Church of Tonga	56	11.3
Church of Tonga	35	7.1
Seventh Day Adventists	10	2.0
Anglican Church	3	0.6
Denomination unknown	2	0.4
	494	99.9

Source: fieldwork survey.

162 they conduct services at the home of one of their members).
621 795 Even if the Anglicans and Seventh Day Adventists are set
794 aside, congregations are more correctly described as local
groups rather than village groups. Each of the three
Wesleyan denominations has its own church in Motulahi.
(Indeed, the Free Wesleyan Church had two church sites,
since for some years it had been in process of constructing
a new building of brick to replace the existing delapidated
wooden structure.) However, only the congregation of the
Free Wesleyan Church could be said to be village-based in
the sense that all members of the congregation are village
residents, whereas not all the people who belong to the
Motulahi-based congregations of the Free Church of Tonga
and the Church of Tonga live in Motulahi. Some are
residents of the small neighboring village of Tatafa, for
their denominations do not have enough members to be able
[872] to support a congregation in Tatafa. Similarly, the Roman
Catholics of Motulahi, together with those from other
nearby villages, attend church in Nukutau (the village
immediately adjacent to Motulhai), where there is also a
Roman Catholic primary school. The Mormons, too, have a
joint congregation with neighboring villages; their church
is located on the boundary between Motulahi and Nukutau.
162 621 This is also the site of the church-run post-primary school
794 795 872 that is attended by many children from the district. The

162 Free Wesleyan Church also adminsters a post-primary school
621
794 for the district and a primary school as well. Both are
795
872 located in Nukutau.

794
621 Whatever the denomination, the local congregation is the major source and focus of public activity in village
[626] life. Everyone is at least nominally an adherent of some denomination, and there are few in the village who can withstand the pressure of the expectation that they should at the very least attend church once a week. The Roman Catholic Church has no regularly-scheduled activities for the congregation beyond daily church services and three services on Sundays. Each of the other four local congregations, however, has a scheduled round of weekly activities. In the Mormon Church, there are two Sunday services for the entire congregation (see Table 19). In addition to this, on Monday evenings there is a family service (which people attend in elementary-family groups), on Tuesday afternoons there is a service for women (aged sixteen and up), and on Wednesday afternoons there is a children's service (up to about sixteen years of age). Besides services, there are a number of other church-related activities. Every Tuesday afternoon and evening, members of the church who are able to do so are engaged in genealogical research (an activity related to certain doctrines of the Mormon Church). Twice a week there is a practice

TABLE 19

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Weekly-scheduled Activities of the Mormon Congregation, Motulahi 1970

Day	Time	Activity
Sunday	10:00 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.	church service
	4:00 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.	church service
	5:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.	choir practice
Monday	evening	family service
Tuesday	3:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	women's service
	afternoon and evening	genealogical work
Wednesday	3:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	children's service
	7:30 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	church service
Thursday	8:00 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.	choir practice
Friday	no weekly-scheduled activity	
Saturday	no weekly-scheduled activity	

Source: field notes.

621 session for members of the church choir. In addition to
794 these weekly-recurring activities, on the afternoon of the first Saturday of each month there is a discussion-group meeting for each of the three classes of adult members (men of the category of 'priest', men and youths who are not priests, and the members of the women's auxilliary), and about once a month on a Saturday evening there is a social evening (dancing, costume party, movie, or some other performance).

In the Free Wesleyan Church, there are church services for the entire congregation three times on Sundays (although few members of the congregation attend all three services), and services again on Monday afternoons and Tuesday and Friday mornings (see Table 20). On Wednesday afternoons there is a service for women only. And besides services, Sunday school, and choir practice, there are a number of other regularly-scheduled activities that take place on Sundays. About an hour before the mid-morning service, the men of the congregation in Motulahi gather informally at the home of the steward to drink kava and
[276] talk about current events. After the mid-morning service,
[574] the men who have the status of malanga (lay preacher) participate in a formal kava circle at the home of one of the members of the congregation.[5] This is the prelude to

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[5] Pratt (1922) gives a description of this activity which I found very similar to what I observed in 1969-70.

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TABLE 20

Weekly-scheduled Activities of the Free Wesleyan Congregation, Motulahi 1970

Day	Time	Activity
Sunday	5:00 a.m. - 6:00 a.m.	church service
	9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	Sunday School
	10:00 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.	church service
	11:30 a.m. - 1:30 p.m.	kava circle, followed by congregational feast
	3:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.	church service
	4:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.	festive tea
	6:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	choir practice
Monday	5:00 a.m. - 6:00 a.m.	church service
Tuesday	5:00 a.m. - 6:00 a.m.	church service
Wednesday	4:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	women's service
Thursday	no weekly-scheduled activity	
Friday	5:00 a.m. - 6:00 a.m.	church service
Saturday	no weekly-scheduled activity	

Source: field notes.

621 794 [574] the fakaafe Sāpate (Sabbath feast), at which the preacher of the morning's sermon is the guest of honor. Following the feast there is a break for an hour or two, and then the congregation gathers again for the mid-afternoon service. After the mid-afternoon service, the adult male members of the congregation gather again at the home of another member of the congregation, where they are served fakaafe efiafi ('afternoon feast', i.e., a festive tea). Besides these weekly-recurring activities, there is a discussion session for adult members of the congregation that takes place about once a month. On these occasions, members of the congregation meet for about an hour before the Sunday afternoon service in groups of about fifteen people, men and women separately. Once a month, also, there is a special service that is held late on Sunday afternoon. On these occasions there is always some festive aspect to the service. For example, the Sunday School might put on a play, or there might be a joint service with a neighboring Free Wesleyan congregation, or a choir competition might be held. Throughout the year, also, there are other special events. There is a special service, for example, to mark the beginning of the school year, and another special service plus a feast for all members of the congregation, children as well as adults, to mark Mother's
[574] Day early in May. There is also a special service held on

621 New Year's Eve and a week of feasting in the first week of
794 the new year.
[574]

The Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga have
[574] a weekly schedule of services similar to that of the Free Wesleyan Church, and a similar routine on Sundays but without a congregational feast each week. There is less emphasis on communal feasting in these denominations, possibly because the congregations are not large enough to
[574] support such activities on a regular basis. However, they do have feasts and other special activities at certain times of the year, such as at Christmas, Easter, and New Year.

621 In contrast to the frequency and intensity of
794 activity within each congregation, there are no inter-
798 denominational events at the local level. In other words, the different congregations in the village do not interact with one another qua congregation. On the contrary, the mutual posture of the different congregations appears to be one of tolerant avoidance when it is not an attitude of studied indifference to the fact of the others' existence. While, on the national level, the various denominations are sometimes bitterly if mutedly antagonistic, there are few signs of competition between denominations at the local level. For example, the proselytizing activities of the Mormon and Free Wesleyan churches are never carried out

621 in the person's home village.[6] Thus there is seldom an
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798 occasion to confront the fact that there are differences of denominational affiliation within the village.

Doctrinal differences among the denominations are seldom discussed within the village, not even among members of the same denomination. If asked, an informant would undoubtedly affirm the superiority of the doctrines of his/her own denomination, but the point is that comparisons of doctrine are seldom made, nor do people seriously [262] deprecate the beliefs of others. The only common exception to the general appearance of inter-denominational tolerance in Motulahi is that Seventh Day Adventists are occasionally spoken of derisively as kai-kosi (goat eaters), a reference to the fact that they do not eat pork, the primary status food in Tonga. In addition, snide remarks are sometimes made about Mormon activities such as full-time proselytizing, genealogical research, and costume parties, all of which are perceived as being most unTongan and peculiarly Mormon. Some members of the Free Wesleyan Church in Motulahi assert that the Mormon Church is not a truly Protestant church, and a few go so far as to say that the Mormon religion is not a true Christian religion (which is a particularly shocking thing to say in Tonga). However, I suspect that

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[6] These activities are described in Decktor Korn 1977.

621 794 798 many of these remarks are caused by resentment at the success of the Mormon Church in gaining new adherents. Moreover, while there is some ill-feeling towards the Mormon Church as an institution, there is no condemnation of particular individuals merely because they belong to the Mormon Church. People are far more critical of those who show little involvement at all in the activities of any congregation than they are of any persons for being adherents of a particular denomination.

Church Membership and Status-striving Activities

794 [775] [626] [554] It is a religious duty to participate in congregational and denominational activities, with damnation in the afterlife and public disapproval on earth as sanctions for attendance. Besides this, however, congregational activities are important social events, providing an arena within which individuals engage in status-striving activities.

602 562 [512] [461] The majority of village women, of all denominations, spend most of their free time among kin, either at their own homes or visiting at the homes of close kinswomen. When a woman organizes a work party, for example, women of the local kin group with which she is affiliated will 562 517 883 form the basis of the work party. Similarly, young men

562 do not necessarily associate with members of their own
517 883 denomination; instead, they spend most of their leisure
[526] time in the company of others of their age. During the winter football season they are fully engaged in the activities of the village football club, and in the summer they serve as cheering sections to the girls'
[571] basketball teams. They also do a lot of 'eva pē ('just going around') away from their home village, seeking scope for their courting activities.

562 885 Ordinarily, however, by his late twenties a young
[582] man has married and begun to settle down. From then on,
[794] the time that he spends outside his own household but away
[276] from income-producing activities is almost entirely spent
[574] in the company of other adult males of his congregation, often at a kava-drinking circle that meets at the home of
794 one of the group.[7] This is especially true of members of
562 574 Motulahi's Free Wesleyan congregation, which is a large
276 enough congregation to sustain a kava group that meets almost daily at the home of the man who serves as steward
794 of the congregation. A man also prefers to cooperate in
562 476 economic activities beyond his own household with members of his own congregation (possibly because this provides a sanction for their acting in good faith). For example, I

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[7] Beaglehole gives an excellent account of kava activities in village life (1941: 112-123).

794 knew of five instances in Motulahi in 1969 in which men
562 became partners for a season of watermelon growing, and
476 in four cases they were members of the same congregation.
[464] Similarly, a senior member of the Roman Catholic
congregation, who owns one of the packing sheds in the
village, generally employs only members of his own
[602] congregation when he requires assistance. If these
[554] associates are also kinsmen, so much the better, for he
is then also gaining merit by being a patron to his
kinsmen and binding them to him; but the kin tie is not
794 essential. In contrast to this, women have a reverse
562 order of priorities in choosing associates. For example,
602
461 if a woman organizes a day of tapa-painting, women of her
fāmili will form the basis of the work party, supplemented
in some instances by non-kinswomen who are linked to her
as neighbors or as members of her congregation.

794 The emphasis on associating with men of one's own
562 congregation is due to the fact that the local congregation
554 is the major arena of prestige-acquisition for men. A man
who seeks to increase his standing in the village cannot
hope to do so without the participation and support of his
[574] fellow congregants. A feast giver, for example, must be
associated with respectable people who he can invite to his
feasts, so that he can gain the prestige that is to be
[574] derived from these displays. The higher the status of his

794 guests, the greater the honor that is reflected upon him. 562 Thus, Tongans' absorption with matters relating to church 554 membership is closely linked with what is possibly the [574] [181] primary cultural theme in Tongan society, namely, the process of continually re-ordering relationships of relative rank.

794 In the enumeration of congregational activities, reference was made to classes of membership within the Mormon Church. The Wesleyan churches also put considerable emphasis on grades of membership. In the Free Wesleyan Church, young men and women become full members of the church at some point in their late teens or early twenties, after years of attendance at Sunday School and later participation in the young people's Methodist Christian Endeavor Society. The procedure is for them to ask a relative or some other adult to submit their request for admission to the grade of communicant (lotu fehu'i, 'enquiring prayer'). They are then appointed to junior membership in one of the discussion groups in the congregation. After some years, the leader of the group may inform the steward of the congregation that the person is ready to proceed to the highest grade of lay membership in the church. The steward then submits the person's name to the minister of the congregation and the minister registers the change of status with the Central Office of

794 the Church. Men become members of the kau malanga ('corps 794 of lay preachers'), and women become members of the kau 562 akonaki ('corps of moral instructors'). There are similar grades of membership in the other Wesleyan denominations, although procedures of transition from one grade to the next are less formal. For women, there is little formal public announcement of the change to akonaki ('moral instructor') status. However, in the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga the transition is very evident; women of 'moral instructor' status in these denominations wear hats to church as a sign of their respectability (in the manner of the wives of the ministers who brought Christianity to Tonga). For men, the transition to malanga (lay preacher) status is marked in all the Wesleyan denominations by their preaching their first sermon, usually a ten-minute address at a Sunday afternoon church service. The occasion is regarded as a matter of pride and congratulation for the new lay preacher and his family.

589 794 562 There was only one unmarried man under the age of thirty who was a member of the corps of lay preachers in Motulahi while I was in the field. This person was known in the village for the piety of his demeanour, and had attained lay preacher status at the age of twenty-six. Generally, however, the standard of morality expected of a

794 member of the corps of lay preachers is not consonant
589 with the behavior attributed to young unmarried men. I
562 knew of an unmarried man in his late thirties who held
a highly respected administrative position in government
and who was very active in congregational activities in
his village. Yet he was not a member of the corps of
lay preachers. I asked someone who knew him well why
this was so, and was told rather huffily that membership
in the corps of lay preachers is not automatic and that
the man had apparently chosen not to petition to be made
a member. Why not, I asked. *Fa'iteliha pē ia*--'it's
his prerogative'--I was told. He was married a few
months after that, however, and not long afterwards I
heard that he gave his first sermon. Marriage, then, is
taken to be related to a person's moral uprightness and
fitness to be a member of the corps of lay preachers.
794 This is also indicated by the case I was told of a man
586 who, shortly after he was divorced, made the request that
562 his name be removed from the register of lay preachers.
I was told that he was not required to do this but that
he may have done it because he did not want his status
as a divorced man to reflect upon his membership in the
corps of lay preachers.

794 As far as I could tell, membership in the women's
562 auxilliary, the 'corps of moral instructors', makes little

794 difference to one's behavior as a member of the congrega-
562 tion beyond the fact that it is a valued status that
[796] signifies decency and full adult womanhood. But only men
[574] of lay preacher status--of whom there were 78 out of a
total of 104 adult males in the congregation of the Free
Wesleyan Church in Motulahi in 1970--may preach a sermon,
and generally only a lay preacher may act as host at a
794 congregational feast. Both of these are status-enhancing
554 activities, for the very fact of a public performance of
this sort is implicit affirmation of the person's rectitude.
Indeed, any situation in which a person has been appointed
to act publicly as a special member of the congregation
is status-enhancing. (Admittedly, some situations or
occasions are more prestigious than others; thus, to
deliver the sermon or host the feast on Christmas Day is
more status-enhancing than to do so the Sunday before
Christmas, and to be steward of the congregation is more
prestigious than to be choirmaster or teach Sunday School.)
[796] One of the indicators of whether a person is highly
regarded beyond his own village is whether he has been
asked to preach a sermon beyond the boundaries of his
home congregation.

793 The minister of the congregation, generally a full-
794 time pastor appointed to the congregation by the national
governing body of the church, decides who will be asked

793 to prepare the sermon. He makes this determination in
794 consultation with the steward of the congregation, who is a member of the congregation elected to the position of steward on an annual basis by his fellow lay preachers in the congregation. The steward also makes up the annual roster of Sabbath and holy-day feast givers. He usually does this by himself, for a minister may know of the frequency and intensity of a person's participation in church services and other denominational activities--factors that are crucial in determining the roster of preachers, but is usually insufficiently acquainted with the members of the congregation to know their status in the village and what resources they can muster--factors that must be taken into account in determining the roster of feast-givers. (This is particularly true of the Free Wesleyan minister of Motulahi, who is resident in the neighboring village of Nukutau, but it is generally true in most Wesleyan congregations since one of the principles of Wesleyan organization is that ministers do not serve for more than a few years with any one congregation.)

794 The matching-up of feast-giver and preacher is one of the
574 more obvious areas in which the steward's social skill is crucial, for the preacher of the sermon that day is a guest of honor at the feast. In making up these rosters, therefore, the steward acts as monitor and arbiter of the

794/relative status of members of the congregation.

574 A feast-giver has the opportunity for a status-794/enhancing display and for having people acknowledge his 574 554/status by the fact of their presence as guests at his feast. Nevertheless, there is no formal requirement to make a big display at a congregational feast; a feast can be as modest or as lavish as the feast-giver chooses or is able to make it. The extent of a person's involvement in these activities is to some extent dependent on the participation of his relatives and other associates. This, in turn, is partly a reflection of the person's position in the fāmili, and partly a reflection of the size of the fāmili, its members' wealth, and the general level of involvement of the fāmili in these status-enhancing activities. The greater the person's participation in the past as a contributor at the feasts of other people, the more assistance that person will receive when it comes time for him to act as host. Conversely, if he wishes to make a good display as a host, he must first incur obligations to himself through widespread and generous contributions to others. Feast-givers also have the option of inviting whom they choose, including members of different denominations and persons from other villages (although neither is very common at a congregational feast). Some feast-givers invite the entire corps of lay preachers

794 in their congregation--not necessarily all of whom choose
574 to attend, however. Others, less interested in pursuing
554 status through feasting or less able to do so, provide a
smaller feast. This, in turn, affects who invites them. Thus, congregational feasts provide occasions for on-going exchanges between feast-givers and their guests, on the one hand, and the hosts and those who have contributed to their feasts, on the other. People adjust their exchanges as their strategies for social recognition and their material needs and resources change, and every feast provides a new opportunity for re-defining relationships.

Changing Denominational Affiliation

794 The avoidance of inter-denominational confrontation
795 within the village, noted earlier, is possibly best under-
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592 stood as a tension-reducing accomodation to the fact that
the various denominations not only separate the village into a number of different congregations, but quite often cut across *fāmili* affiliation and even household membership. (The phenomenon of denominational differences within the *fāmili* is illustrated in Figure 9, which depicts the denominational affiliation of the core members of two of the *fāmili* in Motulahi.) Where a household might be equally affiliated with more than one *fāmili* in the village, it will usually be affiliated with the *fāmili* whose members

FIGURE 9

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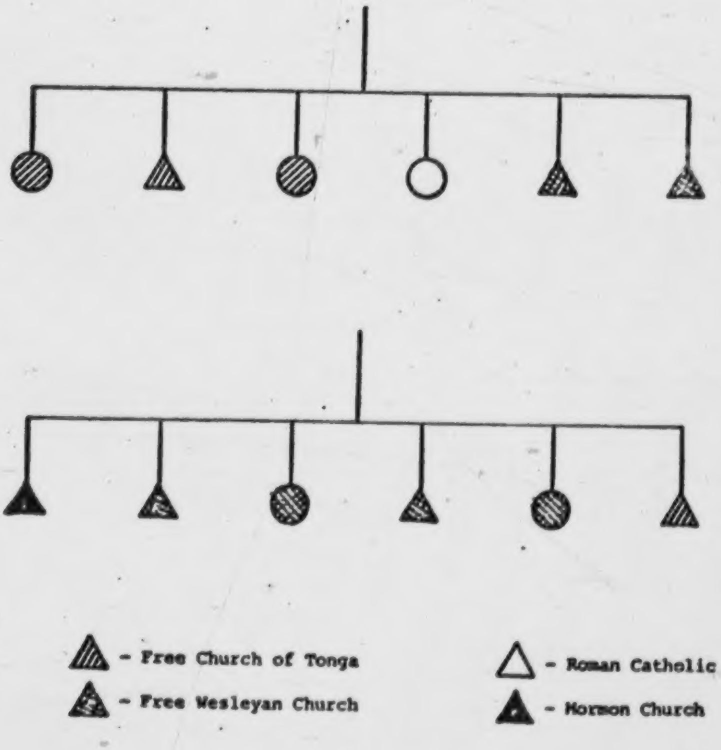
Denominational Differences among the Core Members of Two Pāmili in Motulahi


▲ - Free Church of Tonga
▲ - Free Wesleyan Church
△ - Roman Catholic
▲ - Mormon Church

794 are predominantly of their own denomination. If there is
795 no such choice, however, and members of different denomi-
612 592 nations find themselves associated within the same *fāmili*,
then these people assist one another and make contributions
to one another's feasts, even if it is for a denomination
[574] other than their own. They may even be guests at such a
feast, and none of this is held to compromise their denominational affiliation in any way. The same holds true when members of a household belong to different denomintions. Moreover, this is not a rare situation. There were intra-household differences of denomination in forty-three (30 percent) of the households in Motulahi in 1970, including differences in denominational affiliation between parents and some of their married children in fourteen out of fifty-one three-generational households.

794 Denominational diversity among kin arises in part
795 because switching to a different denomination is not
uncommon in Tonga. My data on this are incomplete, as I
[152] did not examine the phenomenon directly. What struck
[771] me was the seeming incongruity between the intensity
and apparent fervor of people's commitment to their own denomination, on the one hand, and the equanimity with which they appeared to view the fact of denominational diversity in Tonga and their close kin being affiliated with different denominations. That people switched deno-

794 minational affiliation and that this was also regarded
795 with equanimity merely seemed to me to be part of the same
problem, constituting one more set of data exhibiting the
apparent formlessness and flux of Tongan society.

As I understand it now, denominational changes occur in association with one of the following circumstances: through schooling, marriage, and what I speak of as 'personal retooling'.

Schooling

873 While education in Tonga is compulsory for everyone
[871] through age fourteen or completion of primary school, higher
[872] education has become an important element of social differentiation and there is tremendous competition for admission to secondary schools. (In 1969, for example, almost three thousand boys and girls took the entrance exam that would admit about seventy students to the first grade of post-primary education in the only government high school that
[658] prepares students for university entrance.)[8] Furthermore,
[794] while the government provides two-thirds of the primary
[872] education in the country, about 85 percent of all secondary students are educated in schools that are provided by the various denominations.

873 In considering the provision of education as an
794 element in inter-denominational competition for adherents,
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[8] Report of the Tonga Department of Education (1970: 2).

873 it is useful to distinguish between its role in recruiting
794 new members and its role in retaining those who are already
795 within the church.[9] The Mormon Church in particular recruits many of its new members through the provision of education. To a lesser extent this is also true of the Seventh Day Adventists and the Anglican Church. Among the other denominations, however, the provision of education serves nowadays more as a means of retaining those who are already members. Only the Mormons, Anglicans and Seventh Day Adventists are in a position to admit students who are not members of the church, thus attracting potential converts. The other denominations have insufficient secondary-school facilities to accomodate all those who are already members.

In speaking of switching denominational affiliation through schooling, I am referring to those cases in which people who have attended a school run by a church other than that of their parents' denomination grow up to become members of that denomination. While they are children they usually belong to their parents' denomination, irrespective of the school they attend. But once they enter the age at which one becomes a full adult member of the church (that is, during their senior secondary school years), many

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[9] For some further discussion of this element of inter-denominational competition, see Decktor Korn 1977.

873 switch their affiliation to the denomination that is
794 providing them with their education. In view of this, and
795 given the possibility that young people may switch their affiliation to the denomination that is providing them with their education, it is interesting to note that parents permit their children to go to these schools. The fact that they do allow this is further evidence of the relative lack of significance attached to the existence of denominational differences among kin.

Marriage

582 Inter-denominational marriage reveals another aspect
794 of the way in which denominational differences among kin
795 are handled. Such differences are seldom a barrier to marriage in Tonga, and it is entirely possible that a husband and wife will have been members of different denominations before they were married. In fact, there were 38 such cases in Motulahi out of a total of 150 married couples living in the village in 1970 (25 percent).

As far as I could determine, there is no general opposition to the notion of marriage between people of different denominations; parents and close kin may be opposed to the marriage, but beyond this other people are seldom concerned about it. Anyway, except for expressing their disapproval, there is little that anyone can do about the matter, and the couple usually deals with the

582 794 795 situation by presenting the certificate of civil registration of the marriage as a fait accompli.[10] Long-term refusal to have anything to do with the couple after this would almost certainly be viewed as too extreme. I was told of how one formidable old woman of the Free Wesleyan Church, incensed at her grand-daughter's announced intention to marry a Roman Catholic, tore off her clothes and rolled naked on the floor to express her anger and contempt. I saw no sign of these objections, however, in her present behavior towards her grand-daughter and little great-grandchildren (who are being raised as Roman Catholics).

In most situations of inter-denominational marriage, one member of the couple switches to the other's denomination. There were only four cases among couples living in Motulahi in 1970 where the husband and wife were not of the same denomination. (All involve marriages of long standing and/or older people; in each of these cases the woman is prominent in the community, although it is not clear to me whether this prominence is a cause or consequence of her denominational independence.) There is no

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[583] [10] It is my impression that there is a high proportion of elopement, nowadays--at least on the island of Tongatapu --even where the couple are of the same denomination; so much so that this cannot be regarded as merely deviant
[585] behavior. By 'elopment' (mali hola) I refer to the practice of being married in secret; that is, with few or no close family members being present. All that is necessary is to register the marriage at the Public Records Office; no religious ceremony is required.

582 formal requirement that both members of a couple belong
794 to the same denomination. Nevertheless, a person's status
795 as a worthy member of the congregation is based in part
on his/her spouse's participation in congregational
activities and the children's induction into the church
through Sunday School, and in this sense it is necessary
that both members of the couple belong to the same denomi-
582 nation. In almost all cases, it is the woman who switches
794 to her husband's denomination, rather than the other way
795
562 around. This reflects the fact that it is more difficult
554 for a man to establish his status as a full member of a
church than it is for a woman, and that church membership
is a more important status-defining attribute for men
[612] than it is for women. Most men's foremost reference group,
outside their own household, is the congregation of their
church, whereas the comparable reference group for most
[591] women is the local kin group. Thus, we find eleven cases
in Motulahi in which, it seems, each spouse has conceded
that which is less important: the couple resides in the
wife's village but are members of the husband's denomina-
tion. (In this regard it is interesting to note that
formal status in the church, such as membership in the
582 kau malanga, is not affected by shifts of residence.) I
794 know of only one case, not involving residents of Motulahi,
795 where the couple did not get married because neither of

582 794 795 them would agree to give up their religion and the alternative of their remaining members of different denominations was also not acceptable to them. Doubtless there are other instances of couples who decided not to get married because of denominational differences, but this is not usually the case.

Personal Re-tooling

794 795 While my data regarding the shifting of denominational affiliation at marriage are fairly scanty, the broad outlines of the phenomenon can be understood with reference to other factors for which there is more substantial evidence. However, the following discussion of 'personal re-tooling' is less solidly grounded, and should be viewed as somewhat tentative.

By 'personal re-tooling' I refer to the fact that, whatever the sincerity of the religious conviction involved, conversion to a different denomination necessarily entails some examination of one's present circumstances (in whatever terms they are defined) and comparison of these circumstances with the prospects that are possible within the new denomination. Whatever else it signifies, therefore, to change one's denominational affiliation implies a decision to involve oneself in a new set of commitments with a new set of fellow-congregants. Moreover, the transfer of denominational affiliation cannot be a gradual process

794 during which one has the opportunity of assessing whether
795 to go through with it, as is the case in shifting *fāmili*
membership; switching denominational affiliation is necessarily abrupt and the person must immediately take up activity within the new congregation. For a woman to do this at marriage is something that is virtually expected, and is accepted in the community without negative comment. But conversion as an adult in circumstances other than marriage is a different matter. It is regarded as a choice made for reasons having to do with the person's calculation of instrumental interests, and is not something that is generally approved.

On the basis of my data from Motulahi, it would appear that changing denominational affiliation in personal re-tooling is associated mainly with switching to the Mormon Church. Table 21 depicts the circumstances under which some adults changed their denominational affiliation, and these data suggest that the circumstances associated with switching to the Mormon Church may be different from those relating to other denominations. The table shows that a total of twenty people resident in Motulahi in 1969-70 had converted as adults to another denomination in circumstances other than marriage. In some cases the person was an adult but not yet married, in other cases both husband and wife had been affiliated with the same

TABLE 21

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Circumstances of an Adult Changing Denominational Affiliation, Residents of Motulahi 1970, by Sex

New affiliation	Circumstances of change				Total
	At marriage		Other than marriage		
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Mormon Church	5	7	12	3	27
All other denominations	1	23	2	3	29
TOTAL	6	30	14	6	56

Source: fieldwork survey and field notes.

794 denomination and switched together to another denomination, 795 in a few instances the husband converted first and the wife converted later, and in one case a man became a Mormon while his wife remained a member of the Roman Catholic Church. Each of these cases, in my view, falls under the heading of 'personal re-tooling', and three-quarters of these cases involve switching to the Mormon Church. Moreover, in those cases where there was a change of denominational affiliation at marriage, while there are thirty instances of women switching to their husband's denomination, there are only six instances of a man moving over to his wife's denomination and five of these cases involve switching to the Mormon Church. Given what is involved in being a church member, a man's switching to his wife's denomination at marriage might also be understood as a decision to re-tool.

For us to understand these data, I submit that switching to the Mormon Church be viewed as a stratagem for gaining access to resources and opportunities that are otherwise not available nowadays or available only with [464] considerable difficulty. For example, the Mormon Church is a major employer in Tonga, second only to the government for employment outside teaching, and generally employs [873] only Mormons. The Mormon Church is also a major source of scholarships for study abroad, and these are allocated only

794 to those who are Mormons or who have graduated from one
795 of the Mormon schools in Tonga. The most able students
873 are supported at the University of Hawaii. Others are
trained in a wide range of academic and technical
subjects at the Church College of Hawaii (now Brigham
[464] Young University - Hawaii). Graduates find the Church,
both in Tonga and elsewhere, to be a willing employer.
794 Finally, the Mormon Church is a primary avenue of
795 long-term emigration. Indeed, the majority of Tongans
167 who have emigrated to the United States mainland have
done so under the auspices of the Mormon Church. In
summary, membership in the Mormon Church opens up
prospects that are not available to most Tongans.

794 In addition to employment, educational and emigra-
795 tion opportunities, membership in the Mormon Church
183 provides a justification for ceasing to follow certain
patterns of behavior that are associated with anga faka-
[574] Tonga ('Tongan custom'). Mormon congregations, for example,
do not have the feasts that are characteristic of the
Wesleyan churches. Thus members are relieved of the
material burdens and social obligations of congregational
feasting. Members of the Mormon Church also tend not to
[602] engage in communal feasting on other occasions. Indeed,
it is my impression that members of the Mormon Church are
more narrowly involved in kinship reciprocity than members

794 of other denominations. It seems significant in this
795 regard that Mormon doctrines and congregational practices
183 [602] place considerable emphasis on the individual elementary
[594] family. Certainly, there are noticeably fewer multiple-
[592] family households among the Mormons in Motulahi (see
[596] Table 22). This suggests either that Mormon heads of
[554] household do not have the means of supporting more than
their own families, or else that having many dependents is
not the major stratagem of garnering prestige for them
794 that it is for other Tongans. Mormons also tend to be
795 more open than other Tongans in asserting that traditional
183 554 elements of rank and privilege should be eliminated. In
place of the traditional criteria of status and customary
forms of status-behavior, material prosperity and
individual achievement are emphasized. In sum, membership
in the Mormon Church accords with the pursuit of an
individualistic course of upward mobility. However, I am
not claiming that people who convert to the Mormon
religion do so only in order to pursue such a course. My
argument, rather, is that in Tonga an adult's switching
affiliation from one denomination to another is an indication of personal re-tooling, just as moving to a different
village is an indication of re-tooling; each involves a
decision to put oneself in contact with a new set of

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TABLE 22

Household Types in Motulahi, 1970, Classed by the Denomination of the Male Head of the Household

Household type	Male head of household		Total
	Mormon (N=29) %	Other (N=113) %	(N=142) %
Single-family-group household	76	63	65
Multiple-family-group household	24	37	35
TOTAL	100	100	100

Source: fieldwork survey.

794 associates.[11] That being the case, when a change of
795 residence or of denominational affiliation occurs in
183
554 circumstances other than marriage, some new strategy of achievement may reasonably be inferred.

Voluntary Associations

571 The data regarding shifting membership in households, fāmili, and congregations suggest that Tongan villagers avoid engaging in arrangements that commit them to sustained cooperation over a long period of time. This
312 appears to be borne out by the following material. A few
365 years before I came to Tonga, money had been raised in Motulahi to provide a piped deep-well water system for the village, whereas before that people had relied exclusively on stored rain-water and shallow open wells. I found, however, that the piped water system worked only irregularly, owing to ineffective arrangements for priming the pump and clearing blocked pipes. According to my notes, on January 26th 1970 tap water was available in Motulahi for the first time since New Year's Day. Nine days after that, the piped water supply quit again for two

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[11] In a paper on the phenomenon of denominational diversity in Tonga (Decktor Korn 1977), I argue that the present success of the Mormon Church in attracting new adherents follows the pattern of other churches in previous years, and is best understood as an instance of Tongans' readiness to welcome the possibility of new stratagems.

575 account in the savings bank in Nuku'alofa. The group met
454 for a social evening once a month. On these occasions,
each couple brought the amount of money that had been
agreed upon at the preceding meeting, and then the total
was deposited. The purpose of the kautaha was to ensure
regular savings and to keep the money that was saved intact
by having it deposited in a common account.[13]

575 2. The members of a kautaha are almost always residents
621 of the same village, and are usually further linked by ties
602 of kinship and/or membership in the same congregation.
794
[593] Thus, five of the six couples in the kautaha lī pa'anga
described above were related to one another as siblings;
all were adherents of the same denomination (although not
of the same congregation, as two of the member-couples
[437] were not resident in Motulahi). All the members of the
[476] Kautaha Fisi were residents of Motulahi, as were all the
members of the kau ngāue, and all but one of the men in
the kau ngāue were members of the Free Wesleyan congrega-
[437] tion. The denominational affiliations and kinship
connections among the women in the Kautaha Fisi are
depicted in Figure 10.

575 3. Every member of a kautaha usually has a direct
personal interest in pursuing the goals or purposes of the

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[13] Morton describes the various forms that a kautaha lī pa'anga can take (1972: 83-85).

FIGURE 10

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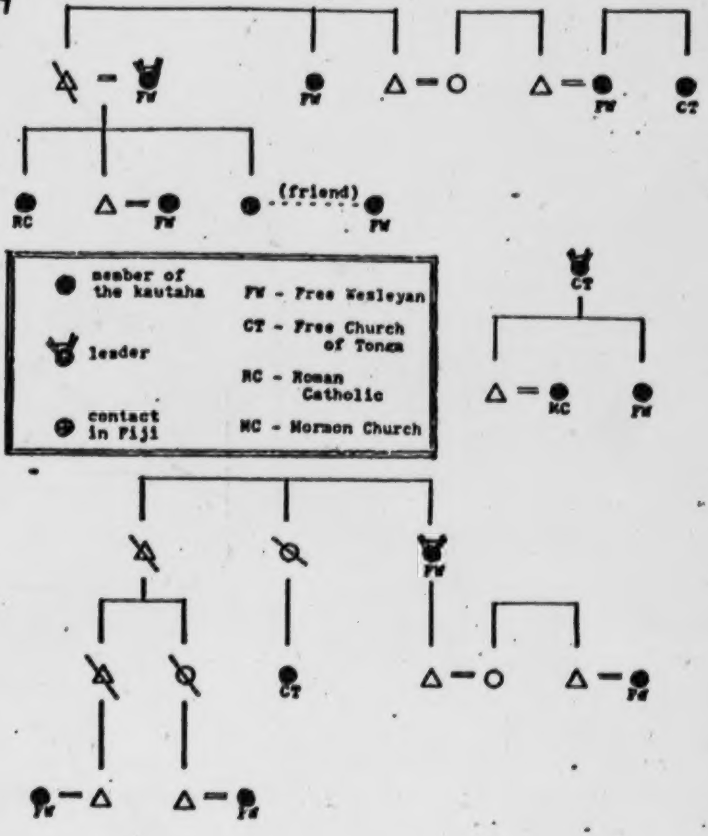
Denominational Affiliations and Kinship Connections Among Members of the Kautaha Fisi


FW
FW
CT
FW
RC
FW
(friend)
FW
member of the kautaha
leader
contact in Fiji
FW - Free Wesleyan
CT - Free Church of Tonga
RC - Roman Catholic
MC - Mormon Church
CT
MC
FW
FW
CT
FW
FW
FW

575 the field, after having been in existence for about seven
months, as there was no longer enough regular work for
575 everyone. Village football associations disband at the
526 end of each rugby-football season. The same is true of
the three neighborhood basketball associations in Motulahi.
These re-form from year to year, with some members joining
575 a different club the following season. Most kava-drinking
276 clubs have an even briefer span of existence; few last
more than two or three months.[14]

575 In summary, local voluntary associations are relatively short-lived groups that come into existence for the
pursuit of limited goals that are in the personal interest
[563] of members of the association. In contrast to these
groups, other voluntary associations in Tonga that do not have these features, such as the Tongan Red Cross and the Tongan Family Planning Association--both of which are conspicuously lacking in well-defined goals--have had little impact outside Nuku'alofa and receive most of their support from the expatriate European community.[15] Even

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[791] [14] In this respect, the long-standing informal association of men who gather almost daily at the home of the steward of the Free Wesleyan congregation, constitutes an exception that proves the rule. This group, while it is not formally constituted by the Free Wesleyan Church, would not be called a kautaha. It is similar to a kava club in some ways, but is significantly different in that it is an unofficial adjunct of the congregation.

[15] This statement about these associations, while it is true as of the time of my fieldwork, may no longer be true.

575 the Tongan Women's Association (Langa Fonua 'o Fefine Tonga), which is famous throughout the South Pacific, has had notable participation from village women on a regular basis only in the tourist shop run by the Association for the sale of members' handicrafts. At least as of the time of my fieldwork, few village women attended the talks or participated in the other activities regularly sponsored by the Association.

It should not be concluded from these materials on voluntary associations that Tongans do not cooperate to support goals that lie beyond their selfish interests.
575 An example that refutes this conclusion is the fact that
797 every year thousands of dollars are collected by members
794 of the various churches to support the activities of their church.[16] In the Free Wesleyan Church, the members of each congregation are divided every year into a number of groups called kalasi misionale ('mission classes'), each group consisting of from five to seven malanga and their wives. These groups--also a kind of kautaha--are mobilized at irregular intervals during the year on occasions when contributions of goods and/or labor are required. For example, while I was in Tonga there was a feast held in Nukua'lofa to bid farewell to a church

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[16] Bollard's M.A. thesis (1974) is probably the best source on this, but the findings have not yet been published.

575 offical who was returning to Australia upon his retirement
797 after serving many years as a missionary in Tonga. Each
794 congregation on Tongatapu contributed at least one *pola* to the feast, and this was arranged by the local steward assigning certain specific contributions to be made by each *kalasi*. Besides these occasional contributions, the efforts of the *kalasi* are directed at raising money through various fund-raising activities over the course of the year. (In this respect, the *kalasi misionale* functions as a form of *kautaha lī pa'anga*.) The money that is collected by each *kalasi* is handed over in public at a special meeting of the congregation that is held at the end of the year (and which is conducted with considerable fanfare), and the total amount is submitted by the steward to the central authorities of the Church. After this, as might be predicted on the basis of my analysis of *kautaha*, the steward re-allocates the members of the congregation in new *kalasi* for the new year.

Summary

571 The data presented in this chapter indicate the considerable flexibility that Tongans have in varying and manipulating their affiliations. Tongans clearly prefer to avoid long-term arrangements and do not engage in membership in groups that require them to take on indefinite
[572] commitments. (In this regard, it is interesting to note

621 is a member of a sibling descent group based in the village
593 next door. And even where this does happen, it is unlikely
612 that the household would participate as members of a *fāmili*
592 in a neighboring village if there were also a *fāmili* in the
village of residence with which the household could be
affiliated. It is only when for some reason there is no
suitable *fāmili* in the village of residence that a house-
hold might participate regularly in a *fāmili* that is based
621 in another village. Similar factors operate against the
575 likelihood of a person's being a member of a *kautaha* based
621 away from that member's village of residence. People
571 prefer to be associated with others of their own village
for reasons of convenience and prudence; so that they can
interact freely with their associates and easily monitor
[612] their activities. In summary, the *fāmili* is a village-
based group because it is basically a local action-group.

Like the *kautaha* and the *fāmili*, the congregation
621
794 is more correctly described as a local group rather than
a village group. In most villages on Tongatapu, the Free
Wesleyan Church is the only denomination whose congregation
could be said to be village-based in the sense that all
the members of the congregation are village residents, and
this is also true in Motulahi. The reason is because the
Free Wesleyan Church has a far greater number of adherents
than other denominations. Owing to their numbers, members

621 of the Free Wesleyan Church are usually able to support
794 their own village church and do not have to suffer the
inconvenience of attending church in another village. Conversely, some of the people who belong to the Motulahi-based congregations of the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga live in the small village of Tatafa, about two miles away, for their denominations are not able to support a church in their own village. Similarly, the Roman Catholic families in Motulahi are members of a congregation that is based in the neighboring village of Nukutau, where there is a large Roman Catholic population, and the Mormons in Motulahi belong to a congregation whose membership is drawn from a number of nearby villages and whose church is located at the boundary between Nukutau and Motulahi. As for the few Seventh Day Adventists and even fewer Anglicans who lived in Motulahi in 1969-70, they had to go to Nuku'alofa to attend church. In short, the boundaries of a congregation are primarily dependent upon the density of adherents.

621 The preceding exposition of the nature of local-group
boundaries is presented in support for the statement that
the village as such has little significance as a unit of
575 local organization in Tonga. Local activities beyond the
794 household take place within the framework of congregations,
612 kautaha, and fāmili, each of which cuts across village

621 [794] [578] [612] membership and may extend beyond the boundaries of the village. No local-level entity has the authority to co-ordinate the activities of these groups, to convene a village council of any sort, or to organize any other village-wide activity. In summary, the village neither functions as a political group nor is there any other group whose membership co-incides with all the inhabitants of the village. For these reasons, it is doubtful whether the Tongan village is to be regarded as a local group. [224] Even for the isolated village-islands of Ha'apai, the only village-wide activity reported in response to my enquiries was that in some villages there is an occasional joint fish-catching expedition.[4]

621 765 In Motulahi, the closest approximation to village-wide action during the period of my fieldwork was the observance of a period of mourning when there was a death in the village.[5] For a few days after each death, no movies were shown and there was a stillness throughout the [512] [287] village. Usually, during the day, one hears the rhythmic note of wood striking wood as women pound bark into tapa-cloth, but this is put aside for the few days that the mourning is observed.

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[4] The Beagleholes give a description of joint fishing operations (1941: 36-37).

[165] [5] There were five deaths in the village during the period of my fieldwork: an old man, a boy, and three infants.

794 795 Within the major denominations, authority is similarly centralized and concentrated at the top. An exception to this is the Mormon Church, whose structure may be described as "federal", in the image of the mother country of that denomination. Among the Wesleyan denominations, the congregations manage their own internal affairs, but any executive matter that involves inter-congregational relations must be channelled through central committees that operate at the district level or higher. This is exemplified in the following case. The Free Wesleyan Church has a program of inter-congregational visits, where one congregation is assigned to visit another. It is a matter of pride for the visiting congregation to have as many members as possible join in the expedition, and they spend a day or two as guests of members of the host congregation, going as a group from house to house in the village, singing hymns and in general making people aware that the Free Wesleyans were there. In April 1970 the Free Wesleyan congregation at Motulahi was assigned to visit a congregation on the other side of Tongatapu. It so happened, however, that the Free Wesleyans of Motulahi had been engaged for three years in building a new church --working in spurts to accomplish each stage of the building, with lulls in between for raising funds to finance the next stage of construction--and had just

794 reached the stage at which they were ready to pour the
795 concrete for the floor. This was a job that would require members of the congregation to put aside their other activities for about a week. They therefore petitioned the central committee of the Free Wesleyan Church to set aside their assignment to visit the other congregation, and asked the committee to sanction their devoting that time to the church-building project. These requests were channelled up to the central committee through the local minister, who was approached by the steward and other leaders of the congregation asking him to speak to the central committee on behalf of the congregation. While there was no question that the requests would be granted, what I find most interesting is that it was necessary to make these requests and that the leaders of the congregation did not feel that they had the authority to approach the central committee themselves.

621 As the preceding case illustrates, in every village there are a number of local leaders (such as the heads of fāmili and the stewards and other leading members of each congregation) whose authority is derived from their position within the local community, but who have little
[646] formal authority beyond the community. The low level of
[634] authority of local officials is clearly seen also in the roles of the District Officer and Town Officer, who are

621 elected at the sub-district and the village level, repec-
646 tively, and receive government stipends. Despite their
634 elective positions, they do not act as representatives of
the people vis-a-vis higher levels of government. Instead,
their main function is to serve as a conduit for communi-
cations from the top down. This is described by Spillius:

> The Town Officer is a paid government official . . . and his main function is to act as a communication channel between Government and villagers. He holds meetings in which he tells the people the laws and regulations passed by Government. Any Government official who comes to the village, including the medical and nursing staff, comes first to the Town Officer. . . . Town Officers are supposed to conduct agricultural and sanitary inspections and send reports to the Premier's Office, but they rarely do so, as these are unpopular in the village and are not insisted upon from above. Some Town Officers are keenly interested in health and support the programs of the Medical Department. Others are interested in public works and have mobilized the people to build roads and community houses. But this depends on their individual character and interests, it is not a formally defined part of their job (1960: 10).

621 As we have seen, the village as such is not a signi-
571 ficant unit of organization. However, the low level of
authority of local leaders must not be taken to indicate
that there is no significant decision-making at the local
[612] level. On the contrary, the fāmili and kautaha regulate
[575] their own affairs and are not answerable to any higher
[794] bodies, and the data on congregations presented in Chapter V
clearly indicate that they have considerable autonomy in
regulating strictly local matters. What we find in analyzing the system of political authority in Tonga is that, in

623 The noble's brief statement was followed by an even shorter
565 speech by the Town Officer, who added some practical
622 details to what the noble had said. In all, eighteen
minutes elapsed from the time that the noble entered the
shed where the fono took place until the time that he
dismissed the people with the words "Sai, tuku ā (all
right, that's all)".

571 As the institution of the fono indicates, the orga-
829 nization of authority in Tonga and the associated ideology
are such that those at high levels of authority are not
thought to be, nor are they in practice, accountable or
[623] subject to the wishes of those beneath them. This means
that formal communication between the central authorities
and ordinary people in the villages need only be a one-way
process--there is no discussion at the fono nor any
legitimate questioning of the directives given.

642
571 The fono is merely one of a number of formal pro-
[623] cedures for communicating from the top down. The Govern-
[644] ment gives people directives through District and Town
[634] Officers and through the fono, makes announcements over
[207] the radio and in the Tonga Chronicle (the national news-
[204] paper, published weekly in Tongan and English editions),
and gives official notice in the Government Gazette.
794 Similarly, the churches publish various bulletins and for-
795
571 ward other directives to members through notices to the

571 [794] [795] ministers and stewards of the congregations. All these, however, are one-way channels of communication from the top down, while the ordinary villager has few means of communicating upwards. Ordinary men and women serve as representatives of their congregations at annual meetings [646] of their church. They also participate in electing the People's Representatives in the Legislative Assembly. [642] Besides these measures, there are no formal means of representation for the vast majority of Tongans.

Processes of National Integration

The description thus far suggests that in Tonga there is only a very steep hierarchy, with little to bridge the gap between ordinary villagers and the central authorities. 602 571 This is not really the case, however, owing primarily to the nature of the Tongan kinship system. Anthropologists have repeatedly noted that people of the highest rank in Tonga are related through ties of kinship with people of all ranks throughout the country, creating a vast communications network through kin ties that reach every village and every household in the country. As Spillius puts it:

> The web of kinship here is such that every well-informed person, every member of Government, every aristocrat, every well-educated commoner or church minister, has hundreds of relatives, all of whom can and do consult him. . . . Even with the presence of all the formal types of communication by Government, by far the greatest volume of communication takes place through the channels of kinship (1960: 18-19).

FIGURE 12

The Structure of Communication among Institutional Units in Tongan Society

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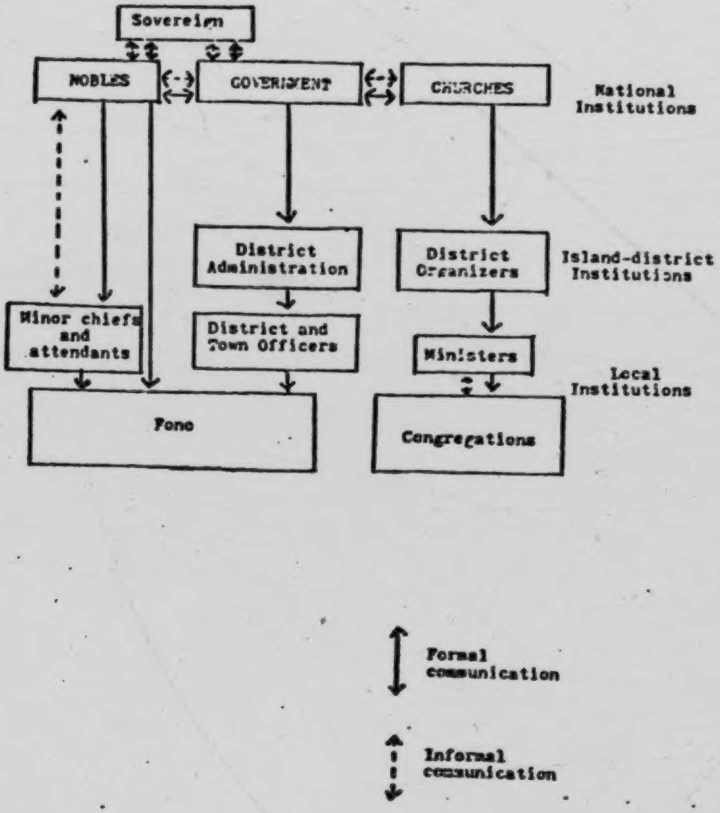
Sovereign
NOBLES
GOVERNMENT
CHURCHES
National Institutions
District Administration
District Organizers
Island-district Institutions
Minor chiefs and attendants
District and Town Officers
Ministers
Local Institutions
Fono
Congregations
Formal communication
Informal communication

121 urban data (Mitchell 1969, Whitten and Wolfe 1973).
However, a network approach is narrowly structural in its
focus on individuals and on the patterning of linkages
formed by their associations as they engage in various
activities. Within that frame of analysis, the organiza-
of the activities themselves is peripheral, leaving
systemic aspects of these activities unexamined. Rather
than use a network approach, in organizing the data from
Motulahi I have tried to show how a person's behavior
within one sphere of activity shapes and is shaped by the
[592] alternatives available in other spheres. Thus we see that
[612] the kind of domestic group that a Tongan villager sets up
[602] or joins is partially a function of his kin-group affilia-
tions, and that this in turn affects the range of alterna-
[621] tives available to him in other activities. It is through
[575] the relation of these activity systems that the various
[794] groups found at the local level are articulated with one
[182] another and with other groupings in Tongan society.

2. What is the explanation for the diversity found in the various forms of social groupings at the local level?

In examining the diversity of social groupings in Tongan society, I have focused on the diversity of options that people have in choosing memberships and affiliations. These data exemplify the variability of Tongan society at the local level. In considering them, we can distinguish

121 between diversity in the sense of multiplicity--i.e, the number of different groupings of the same kind--and diversity in the sense of structural differences among groupings of the same kind. Thus, in speaking of the diversity of household composition, I am referring to differences in the structure of household groups, not to the number of households found in Tongan villages. On the other hand, "denominational diversity" refers to the number of different denominations likely to be represented in each village, not to structural differences among congregations (although, to be sure, there are such
[181] differences). Both kinds of diversity reflect the "loose
[182] structure" of Tongan society. In Tonga we find, for
[794] [771] example, that what matters in regard to religious affiliation is that a person should have some denominational affiliation, which denomination he belongs to is
[554] less important. Similarly, a villager achieves status through participating in ceremonial activities, but there is a wide range of alternative channels for mobilizing material and social resources to enable this participation.
[592] Tongans' households are functionally similar to one another,
[612] but there are no prescriptions regarding structure; fāmili
[575] groupings and kautaha groupings are even less formally
121 181 delimited. This diversity of social groupings is possible
182 571 because a wide range of variation is tolerated in Tonga

> 602 Although . . . the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the
> 592 expression of social relationships, social behaviour is not constrained by the
> 171 prior existence of kinship corporations. It is not so much that the Sinhalese order their economic lives in accord with kinship relations as that their kinship relations are an expression of the way in which they order their economic lives (1960:123).

592 The resources available to the Tongan household must be sufficient to provide for three types of expenditures: expenditures for everyday material needs, periodic cash outlays, and contributions of goods and labor on ceremonial occasions.

592 The everyday material needs of a household consist mainly of
511 foodstuffs and fuel, along with petty cash for such items as bus fares, matches, and soap. Foodstuffs and fuel are derived mainly from locally cultivated subsistence products. (There must, of course, be labor available to prepare and make use of these products, hence the need for human capital). Everyday foodstuffs that are purchased include bread, flour, sugar, salt, tea, cocoa, and dried milk. The frequency and amounts of such purchases varies mainly according to how much cash is available.

A household must also have the cash for periodic outlays to pay
[651] members' expenses, such as income taxes, the annual poll tax on every
[714] male over the age of 15, church contributions, and schooling expenses
[871] for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing
592 and fabric, household utensils, and other implements. Such purchases
511 and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays, which
434 are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly
[462] before it is needed. Men collect coconuts and make copra or else sell the coconuts directly to the Tonga Copra Board, while women prepare
[433] handicrafts for sale to tourists. There is noticeably more copra-making
[438] activity and also a well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed for the major outlay at hand, with whatever is left being doled out to provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

592 Finally, a household must have the means for its members to make
434 adequate contributions of goods and labor on a wide range of
431 ceremonial occasions that occur at irregular intervals throughout the
285 year: feasts, funerals, weddings, and so forth. There is a class of goods
287 called *koloa* ("treasure") that come into play only on ceremonial occasions; these consist mainly of finely woven mats of various kinds
[559] (*kie, fihu,* and *ngafingafi*) and printed tapa-cloth (*ngatu*). *Koloa,* which is
[571] amassed through manufacture by women of the household or through

12

535 section may be singing only with no *haka*. The second section then 533 relates a story through singing and *haka*. The example given above 535 conforms to this norm, however, not all in my collection do. It may be that I do not have the entire composition, or that it would be understood by Tongans that the first part should be included.

The *fa'ahiula* cannot be said to be a living dance type because no new creations are added to the repertoire today. Few people are familiar with the *fa'ahiula* and only a very limited number of women 535 perform it. This is in part due to historical circumstances that 795 associated this dance, along with the *ula* and *me'etu'upaki*, with the [643] Tu'i Tonga line of kings, their village Lapaha, and the Catholic [644] Church. The *fa'ahiula* was preserved and used by the Catholic Church. Dances of this type were composed using Catholic concepts and performed at Catholic gatherings.

535 The performance of *fa'ahiula* today is almost exclusively at 794 gatherings of the Catholic Church, for example, at feasts or entertainments for visiting Catholic dignitaries; at the end of year exercises of the Catholic school; or if either the Catholic school or the village of Lapaha are requested to dance at a concert entertainment. The girls of the Catholic high school performed a group of *fa'ahiula* at the end of year ceremonies in 1963 and they were asked to do them again at an entertainment for the Pan Pacific Women's Conference in 1964 by Princess Mata'aho who arranged the program. [872] *Fa'ahiula* are also performed at money raising programs of the Catholic

535 Church either by the girls of the Catholic school who are instructed
[794] by Tongan nuns or by the women of Lapaha.

[872] Perhaps the most knowledgeable exponents of the *fa'ahiula* genre
[538] are Ana Malia and Vaisima Hopoate. Vaisima is one of the few Tongans
to write down dance poetry and both he and his sister, Ana Malia, have
[644] a remarkable memory for *haka*. Their father, Hopoate, who died in 1966
at the age of 80 was a son of a composer of *fa'ahiula*. Hopoate was a
very high chief and a classificatory *tamai*, 'father,' of the late
Queen Salote Tupou III and thus *kui*, 'grandparent,' of the present
King. Hopoate was known as one of the few people who was an authority
on this dance genre.

Another of the few who know the tradition well is Sister Mary 'Okostino, a Tongan nun who was taught by Malia Toto and Kolotele who were said to have performed for the immediate descendants of the last Tu'i Tonga, and who were known for their knowledge of *fa'ahiula* and *ula*. Sister 'Okostino teaches *fa'ahiula* to the girls of the Catholic schools.

643 Finally, it should be noted that *fa'ahiula* are not performed
795 during official government *katoanga*, 'celebrations,' probably because
[541] they are not considered a formal dance genre today and because of the
[595] association with the Tu'i Tonga line of Kings and the Catholic Church.
The official government is presently under the Tu'i Kanokupolu line of
Kings which is associated with Wesleyanism.

535 An innovation seen in *ula* in Tonga was the substitution of the *fi fia* motif (p. 223) performed with both hands simultaneously, instead of M.I.a.2. at the beginning of the *vaha ula*. The *ula* experts, however, are quite contemptuous of the adapted *vaha*. The only 'approved' changes are those of changing the order in which the *ula* motifs are done in the X^2 X^3 X^4 phrases; and the addition of some '*haka*' of the M.I.a.1. paradigm that were not previously used in the *ula*. Some of the '*haka*' were traditionally part of the *ula* and *fa'ahiula*, but in recent times more of these '*haka*' are added to make it more colorful.

535 The *ula* like the *fa'ahiula*, due to historical circumstances, was
644 associated with the Tu'i Tonga, and the Catholic Church. This is,
[795] however, no longer exclusively the case, for a number of women from
[645] Lapaha[A] married men from the village of Kolonga and the *ula* is
[582] occasionally done there. Another reason that *ula* is done by 'out-
[794] siders' is that it, along with *fa'ahiula* is taught in Catholic schools
[872] and the students come from many villages. In their own villages it
is easy to do an *ula* because it may be performed by only one or a
535 few women; while the *fa'ahiula* should be done by a large number. It
is not difficult to tell which *ula* performers have grown up with the
[644] tradition. The Lapaha people are still the experts in the tradition, secure in their superiority, although others may perform it. Those who have learned it in school do not know what are the essential features of the *ula* and they carry over features of the *tau'olunga*

A [the Tui Tonga's village--Analyst]

535 which is the widespread dance type. In Lapaha, children begin dancing
535 when very young. They watch the adults practicing *faiva*, they stand
644 behind them and dance, they then run off, form their own line and
868 play at *faiva*.

857 Performances of the *ula* today are at the same occasions as the
535 *fa'ahiula*. On these formal Catholic occasions an *ula* can follow after
●[794] a *fa'ahiula*, or an *ula* may be performed alone. *Ula* are also performed
535 on occasions where it is important to demonstrate traditional
186 'Tonganness.' For example, at the opening of a private school in
[871] school in 1965, which was outside the governmental realm of the Tongan
educational system, the headmaster of the school wanted to impress the Tongans with the traditional nature of the curriculum adapted to modern society. In the dance program following the dedication feast a *lakalaka* was performed, and then, instead of the usual *tau'olunga*, an *ula* was substituted. It was done with the *si sia vahe ula* rather than in the 'correct' way.

535 The most knowledgeable exponents of the *ula* are the same as for the *fa'ahiula*--that is, Ana Malia and Vaisima Hopoate who learned from their father. They have a repertoire consisting of six *ula*. Sister 'Okostino is another well known exponent of *ula*. Her repertoire consists of eight *ula*, four of which are different from Vaisima's.

[541] *Ula*, like *fa'ahiula*, are normally not performed during official
[621] government celebrations. During formal Catholic celebrations, only
[644]

621 565 close kinsmen of lower rank or by their chief's assistant.

621 571 565 Villagers see their relationship to the noble in terms of mutual reciprocity. It is the noble's duty to the people to provide them with land, and in turn they should support him materially and socially. The village men have an obligation to provide the noble with first fruits, assist him in his feasting obligations, and obey his directives concerning village affairs.

565 554 The title associated with the estate surrounding Puke is Fohe, one of the seven titles in Ha'a Havea (See Kaeppler 1971: 136).[2] [A] The chief's assistant for Feke, 'octopus', and his primary duty is acting as orator for Fohe on feast occasions and kava ceremonies. However, the man who presently holds the title Feke seldom chooses to perform his duties as matāpule, so the position is usually filled by a man affinally related to Fohe.

794 795 Because Puke has only one church, the Wesleyan Methodist, and all persons in the village except the members of one household belong to that congregation, the office of church steward is, in effect, a position with a village-wide constituency. The church steward is appointed 794 by the central church administration. Church stewards usually lack the qualifications of an ordained minister but have positions as lay ministers and undergo some religious training at a local Bible college.

The duties of the church steward are the maintenance of church records, the organizing of church activities, and the care of the church itself. The church steward at Puke is also the choir leader, takes an active role in village affairs, and acts as an advisor in many situa-

[A] [For footnote, see p.122--Analyst]

794 tions because of his prestige and relatively high educational attainments.

554 The men holding these leadership positions work their gardens, fish, and generally perform the tasks befitting all men of their ages. There are no special insignias that indicate position within the community, but high rank is evidenced in the order of seating at any formal occasion such as feasts or kava ceremonies.

The Village Church: A Focus of Village Life

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626
(795) As mentioned earlier all persons in Puke are members of the Free Wesleyan Church except for the members of one household. The social pressure on this nonconforming family is sufficient to force its participation in the Free Wesleyan Church as well as in the church of their choice, the Church of Tonga. They participate in the village church by contributing an equitable share in money and goods and by taking part in some of the less formal church activities such as choir. Strong denominational preference by the villagers is reinforced by strong pronouncements by village leadership indicating that persons of other denominations are unwelcome and unlikely to receive land on the noble's estate.

794
183
554
(626) Frequent church attendance, generous financial support and position within the church are regarded by Tongans as the marks of a "good man". There are social and economic rewards for the man who meets these criteria; and for the man who does not there awaits gossip and social censure. For instance, an individual's relationship with the church may determine whether or not he receives land, whether or not he is re-

794 183 garded highly by others, and even whether or not he is regarded as a
554 good marriage prospect.

794 Because of the importance of the Church in Tongan villages and in
554 the larger society, most men try to achieve position within it. In
[793] Puke there is no ordained minister but fourteen of the village men are
[875] lay preachers (tangata malanga); one of these lay ministers acts as
[565] Sunday school teacher. The recognized head of the village church is
the noble, who is also one of the lay preachers.

The church reflects several important aspects of village life and the seating arrangement as shown in Figure 1[A] illustrates several principles of Tongan behavior. Village leaders are seated close to the pulpit, the noble is seated so that he is above and separated from the rest of the congregation, and the age and sex divisions are also apparent.

794 There are several indications of the importance of the church in
793 the community. The congregation of the Puke church attempts to have an
554 574 ordained minister come and deliver a sermon at least once a month. On
such an occasion the visiting minister receives treatment appropriate
[276] to a noble. Kava is prepared for him prior to the church service and
a feast contributed to by most members of the community is held after the service. His advice and comments on church affairs, politics, technology, and any other subject are closely attended and almost always accepted as the best available.

794 Another indication of the importance of the church is its schedule of activities and the fact that all activities are well attended. Below I have presented the usual weekly church schedule, which does not include

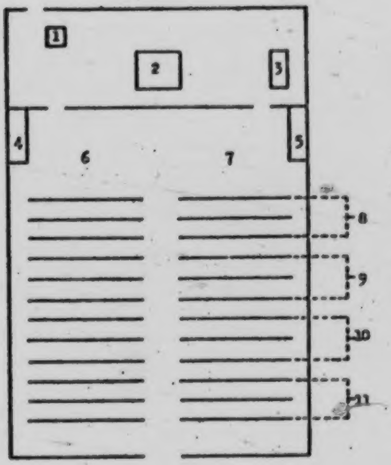
[A] [See p. 34--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

FIGURE 1

Church Seating Pattern

794
554



1 - Noble
2 - Pulpit (minister)
3 - Women of noble's household
4 - Town officer and orator
5 - Orator and church steward
6 - Young girls aged 2-8
7 - Young boys aged 2-8
8 - Young women
9 - Middle aged and old women
10 - Young men
11 - Middle aged and old men

794 at least three hours per week for choir practice:

Monday	5:00 - 6:00 p.m.	Prayer Meeting
Tuesday	6:00 - 7:00 a.m.	Sermon
Wednesday	--------	
Thursday	--------	
Friday	6:00 - 7:00 a.m.	Prayer Meeting
Saturday	--------	
Sunday	6:00 - 7:00 a.m.	Prayer Meeting
	10:00 -11:00 a.m.	Sermon
	1:00 - 2:00	Sunday School
	3:00 - 4:00 p.m.	Sermon

Summary

121 128 In this chapter I have provided a general introduction to Tonga and outlined what I consider to be important aspects of Tongan village life. This information is important in understanding the context within which exchange and reciprocity occur. Through the data presented here I tried to demonstrate that Puke can be considered typical of Tongan villages in some ways and atypical in others. [369] If I were to limit myself to a few key phrases in describing Puke relative to other villages, I would say it is a small, well-integrated village, relatively backward in terms of its technology, and isolated not by geography, but by the traditional and rural life style of its inhabitants.

511 durable items which are mostly cooking utensils and tools.

794 From church records I was able to obtain the exact amount contri-
511 buted at the time of the annual church collection (misinale) by house-
(127) holds. This information is presented in Table 15 but represents only a
fraction of the total given during the year.[A] Although the annual col-
lection represents the single largest donation for each year, smaller
collections are taken at other times. During the annual collection
church members also contribute goods, mostly storable vegetables, but I
was not able to obtain information on these contributions.

794 Church contributions are made publicly in the Sunday services.
592 The name of each household head is called, and a representative of that
626
511 household steps to the front of the church and lays the contribution on
a table which is in view of all present. This procedure results in al-
most everyone having knowledge about how much everyone else contributes.
(554) A great deal of prestige is attached both to the act of giving and to
giving large amounts.

434 Most physical needs of the Tongan peasant are met through his own
511 efforts at cultivation, fishing, and collecting. Cash is only a small
part of family income and is used to purchase goods and services which
(891) cannot be secured through traditional means. For instance, the expenses
(794) of education and church support can only be paid for with cash.[1] [B]

The Village Store

443 From the information I could obtain the first store in Puke was
built in about 1908 by one of the villagers; then in 1912 a European

A [See p. 81--Analyst] B. [For footnote, see p. 123--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 82]

794
511

TABLE 15

Annual Church Contribution 1970

Amount of Contribution	Number of Households
$T1.00-5.00	23
6.00-10.00	15
11.00-15.00	2
16.00-20.00	0
21.00-25.00	1
80.00	1
	42

she curses all her enemies and freely predicts for them all the major and 158
minor horrors of a Wesleyan hell. She struggles hard and excitedly to free 159
herself from restraining hands that she may make herself the instrument of 771
God's vengeance here and now. The ravings and the strugglings go on incessantly. One cannot doubt, as one listens, that Christianity in its Wesleyan variety has laid the deepest and most indelible impress on the woman's mind, giving shape and form to all her worries and to all her blind striving to set her mind once more at ease. All this proves that religion is the mortar that holds together at least one Tongan woman's mind and, to vary the metaphor, provides the form in which the sick mind sets when it tries to cure itself by going insane.

Dr. Lopdell continued to treat this patient for some days. Then her relatives 158
decided that native medicine might be more efficacious. They therefore called 159
in a Tongan expert who diagnosed the case as one of possession by an evil 756
spirit. The woman was thereafter dosed and manipulated and whipped in an 755
effort to attract or drive the spirit from her body. At latest report she is surviving this treatment and apparently making a slow recovery. Her recovery, however, is never likely to be permanent.

I have brief notes from Dr. Lopdell of another manic patient, a mixed- 158
blood girl of about twenty, the onset of whose psychosis was apparently due to 159
thwarting in love combined with a hypersensitiveness and who felt inferiority regarding her social status among the small European community in Neiafu.
Her two brothers had also displayed psychotic tendencies. As with the pa- [771]
tient mentioned above, the girl's symptoms patterned themselves in terms of religious symbols.

Dr. Lopdell mentioned four or five other cases of Tongan insanity in which 771
religion had played a similar role. And those who know Tongan life today
realize full well that Wesleyan Christianity has come to full seeding in the [158]
life and behavior of the modern—and normal—Tongan. Churchgoing occupies [794]
a large part of his time: four times each Sunday and three times each week
as a matter of normal routine; a week of churchgoing twice each day, to cele- [796]
brate each new year; miscellaneous services and prayer meetings seemingly
thrown in on the slightest excuse. Behind are laws of the state that not only [659]
establish a church, but implement its morality with secular authority, and [671]
a short 19th-century church history which includes among other minor events [798]
a major record of religious persecutions, exilings, and organized religious warfare—Wesleyans against heathens, Wesleyans against Roman Catholics, Wesleyans against Wesleyan schisms and Wesleyan defections. The record is not a pretty one, but if the events have done nothing else, they have at least burned Wesleyan Christianity into the hearts and minds of these Tongan people; burned it deeply, painfully, but indelibly.

Tongan life today, therefore, has been born from the mating of John Wesley's teaching with the customs of a pagan people. The birth was clumsily caesarian. Plenty of blood was spilled and a good deal of tissue that got in the way was roughly extirpated. The now adult child, however, is seemingly strong and prosperous.

SUMMARY

The case material here presented suggests the value of a study of psychic 121
stress in a primitive community, specifically in a present-day Tongan village. It enables us not only to revalue the predominant cultural norms in such a community, but also to trace out the lines of stress which result from the impact of such norms upon the personalities of individual members of the society. Such study is important in an aboriginal culture relatively untouched

554 565 powerful socially and politically than the traditional
645 646 nobility.

On the village level, government is through town
622 [634] officers ('ofisa kolo) and district officers(pule fakavahe),
who are elected by the people. The 'ofisa kolo acts as the
mouthpiece of the central government and calls periodic
meetings (fono) to dictate government policy. His main
functions are to help in the distribution of land, to
collect taxes and water payments, and generally represent
634 the government. The pule fakavahe has similar responsibilities over a district consisting of a number of
villages.

795 Of considerably more social importance than the government, is the church, which is the primary focus of the
Tongan society. The official state religion is Free
Wesleyan or Methodist, of which approximately fifty percent
of all Tongans claim membership. Other important religious
denominations include Roman Catholic, Free Church of Tonga,
Church of Tonga, Seventh Day Adventists, Church of England,
and the Church of the Latter Day Saints (which is presently
794 the fastest growing denomination). The social focus of
621 most villages is on church activities: prayer meetings,
youth clubs, Sunday schools, choir practices, and sermons.
795 Each denomination has its own hierarchy of leadership, and
social status. Much of the churches' financial support, as
795 434 well as support in kind for ministers, teachers, and other

241 *'ufi*, which is generally formed for the purposes of
476 planting yams and other staple root crops on a plot of land
[425] donated by or rented from the holder. Whereas the village
[621] tends to be the primary basis for membership to the *kautaha*
[794] *toungaue*, the church is of almost equal importance in the
case of the *toutu'u 'ufi*. Certain procedures are generally
followed by the *toutu'u 'ufi*. Each member is allotted a
predetermined number of rows of yams, using planting
material that he supplies individually. The work, which
includes tasks such as clearing the land, planting, weeding,
and harvesting, is all done as a group. After the yams are
harvested, taro and paper mulberry are commonly planted,
with manioc, bananas, or giant taro being planted occasion-
ally. In only two cases out of 48 sample *toutu'u 'ufi* was
the land fallowed after the yam harvest. A common occurence
after the yam harvest is the cultivation of paper mulberry
by communal women's groups (*toutu'u hiapo*) for use in making
tapa cloth. Out of 142 households, 34 percent participated
in *toutu'u 'ufi* in 1970-71, whereas 51 percent had partici-
[369] pated in *toutu'u 'ufi* in the past five years. There was
little difference between town and bush areas, with 29
percent and 36 percent of the heads of households, respect-
ively, having participated in *toutu'u 'ufi*. Membership in a
given *toutu'u 'ufi* ranged from 2 to 40 with a median of 7
members.

A limited number of households, 13 out of 138, also

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1829]

The missionaries regarded these seven men as "the first fruits of the Gospel" in 797 Tonga.(25) A short catechism had been compiled a few weeks before this event, 795 and the catechumens repeated the answers before the congregation at their baptism. On 29 March 1829 Aleamotu'a's wife, Moala, was baptized and named Mary. Four other women were baptized with her.

When children of parents already baptized were brought, Turner set apart those below eight years and treated those above eight as adults who entered a class for instruction. It was Turner's practice to baptize candidates by sprinkling as they knelt around the communion table. He gave them biblical names as well as agreeing to their retaining their Tongan names. Incidentally, John Williams, while commenting very favourably on Turner's work during his visit to Nuku'alofa in 1830, criticized the giving of biblical names. However, it became standard practice in the Tongan Wesleyan Church. It was also the custom for baptized persons to sit under and around the pulpit, apart from the rest of the congregation.

Eleven more were baptized on 9 April 1829 when the congregation numbered [794] nearly 500, Turner reported. By April 1829 Turner had completed the first 797 Scripture lessons, catechism, and some hymns, and had sent these to Sydney to be printed. He had also translated the marriage service from the Prayer Book, [585] and on 3 May the first Christian wedding service was held. On 24 May there [764] was the first Christian burial, for an old convert named Job, so named because of his patience in prolonged illness. On Whitsunday, 7 June 1829, the first [788] Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in which Tongans participated was observed. There were twenty-six Tongan communicants.

The District Meeting, on 23 June 1829, reported 31 full members, with [794] 90 on trial. It asked the Committee for two additional missionaries, one with medical knowledge, the other with printing experience; and a printing press was requested.(26)

By 25 June, William Cross had produced summaries of Old Testament and New Testament narratives, and had translated the Acts of the Apostles to chapter eleven — a remarkable feat in about eighteen months. Cross and Turner reported [871] to the Committee that there were 495 in the schools and that [212]

> "many of the people can read with fluency and write in such a way as would astonish you."

They added two significant comments:

> "The great and good work which the Lord is doing among us here is almost incredible to ourselves who are eye and ear witnesses to the facts. . . . And we enjoy perfect harmony among ourselves."

The "Lovefeast" was a treasured Wesleyan ordinance in which worshippers gave testimonies, and the first of these was held on 11 October 1829. About forty, including Aleamotu'a and his consort, spoke on this occasion.

At the District Meeting on 31 December 1829, is was decided that a man and woman living together should be married before they were baptized, and that candidates for baptism should meet "in class" for at least three months and, after baptism, spend three months "on trial" before full membership. The wise direction of the Chairman could be seen in these rules. It was also reported that [794] there were 72 full members, with 23 others baptized but not yet full members, [795] 123 others on trial, and that there were 478 scholars in four schools, at [871] Nuku'alofa, Hofoa, Havelu, and Fanga.(27)

[1828-1830]

Aleamotu'a was baptized on 10 January 1830 in the presence of a congregation 797
of 600. He took the name of Josiah, and the missionaries generally referred 643
to him afterwards as Josiah Tupou or King Josiah. He had supported, first the [795]
Tahitian teachers and then the Wesleyan missionaries, wavering only temporarily [794]
and under strong pressure. His three sons and two daughters were baptized at
the same service. On the afternoon of that day, Turner wrote,

> "A man who had been a magician or a kind of god and of so high a rank that the king used to pray to him was baptized; so in the same day we have baptized both the king and his god." (28)

After Aleamotu'a was baptized he was married to his chosen wife, Mary, who had become a class-leader and had taken charge of the Sunday School in Nuku'alofa.(29)

Nuku'alofa, with its daily teaching and well-attended regular worship, had 797
become an orderly Christian community. Every Sunday was filled with services [796]
and teaching: 5 a.m., prayer meeting; 8 a.m., children's catechizing; 9 a.m.,
worship; 3 p.m., worship; evening, English service (for mission families and any
visiting sailors). During the week the missionaries supervised the day schools,
conducted classes for catechumens and others for full members, and held a
mid-week service (Wednesday) and prayer-meeting (Friday). They were also
occupied with translation work, dispensing medicine, making pastoral visits to the
sick and to outlying villages. On 31 March 1830 Cross sent to the Committee [212]
in London specimens of the handwriting and composition of Mary, wife of
Aleamotu'a. and others. These may be the first sentences in Tongan still in
existence; they are preserved in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.(30)

The change in the people's attitude was receiving favourable comments from visiting sea-captains. Captain Hardy, *Snapper*, who used to avoid Tongan anchorages because of the people's reputation for deceit, robbery and violence, reported on the difference when he came on 22 September 1828. Commodore Lawes, H.M.S. *Satellite*, in May 1829, expressed astonishment at the progress the people at Nuku'alofa had made in reading after only a short time. The wrecked whaler, *L'Aigle*, received unexpected hospitality from Aleamotu'a and his people in March 1830. On the other hand, the sailors of some ships cursed the missionaries because they had forbidden women at Nuku'alofa to go on board the visiting vessels.

The chapel built for the Tahitian teachers in 1826 had proved far too small.
On 5 May 1830 Turner reported the beginning of the construction of a new [368]
chapel "on the hill where the old fortress stood in Mariner's time", the hill to
become famous in Tongan Church history as Zion. On 3 September it was [794]
opened, with about 1,000 attempting to crowd into the building and nearly as
many others outside. Turner described the efforts of some to appear in European [391]
clothing, the women with "gowns and bonnets. The bonnets were entirely of their [177]
own manufacture, under the direction of Mary, the excellent wife of Tupou".
Though Turner wrote this with some satisfaction, he added that the appearance
of many could only "excite a smile". Another quaint reference was to Thomas
Wright, Lawry's old servant who had returned with John Thomas, and who now
conducted the singing in Zion "although he does not understand music"! (31)

Nuku'alofa had formerly been a fortress. Its new importance arose not only [361]
because of its convenience as a port but as the centre of the new religion in [509]
Tongatapu. It is also noteworthy that Turner and Cross had commenced preaching

[1831]

in villages in the central district, in places that had hitherto been hostile to Christianity. 797

Reinforcements for the Mission came on 10 March 1831. The new missionaries were Peter Turner, James Watkin, and William Woon. Peter Turner (who was not related to Nathaniel) was born in Manchester in 1802. Enthusiastic and evangelistic, he became a very popular preacher; his four years in Samoa (1835-9) made him a legend among the Wesleyans of that group. James Watkin also was born in Manchester, in 1805. He proved an able administrator in his six years' service (1831-7) and afterwards in New Zealand and Australia. A son of James Watkin, Jabez Bunting Watkin, was a missionary in Tonga for nearly 60 years (1866-1925), the last forty years as President of the Free Church which separated from the Wesleyans. William Woon was a Cornishman, born in 1803; he had been trained as a printer and he brought with him a printing press, a valuable acquisition for the Mission and a source of wonder to the people in Nuku'alofa. Woon was a competent but slow printer and a poor preacher (so Thomas noted before Woon left the Mission on 5 January 1834).(33)

On 14 April 1831, just before Nathaniel Turner left, he had the satisfaction of seeing the first books printed in Tonga, a book of 60 hymns and a four-page school-book (3000 copies). A second school-book was ready also for printing. A copy of the first hymn-book is in the National Library, Canberra, probably the only copy still in existence. Its sixty hymns are elementary efforts but it is remarkable that so many had been written and printed in less than four years after Turner and Cross came. (A copy of the 1835 school-book, eight pages, also is in the National Library, Canberra.) After Woon left the printing press was removed to Vava'u. 213

Continuous ill-health forced Nathaniel Turner to leave Tonga in April 1831. 797
The transformation in little more than three years had been amazing indeed.
Instead of failure and the projected abandonment of the Mission by John Thomas
and Hutchinson in 1827, the work was now firmly established. When Nathaniel [794]
Turner left, the Mission reported 505 full members, 528 on trial (a total increase [871]
of 598 for the year); in Tongatapu there were 14 schools, 35 teachers, 953 [213]
scholars; in Ha'apai already 8 schools, 77 teachers, 1037 scholars; and 10,000 [212]
small books had been printed in Tongan and were in use in the schools. If Turner had been able to continue in Tonga, still greater success would have followed under his wise direction, and probably the grave mistakes of later years would have been avoided. General sorrow was shown by chiefs and people in Nuku'alofa on the missionary's departure. Before he left he urged the Committee to send missionaries not only to Vava'u and the Niuas but also two to Fiji.(34) In 1853 Turner had the gratification of visiting Tonga when he accompanied the deputation from the British Conference, Robert Young; and he then saw the fruit of the work that he had been compelled to leave in 1831.

John Thomas, who had been stationed in Ha'apai since January 1830, succeeded Turner as Chairman of the Friendly Islands District, occupying that position until he went on furlough to England in 1850.

[1830-1834]

promptly gave Taufa'ahau an emetic which had the desired effect. Prayers were offered all night for his recovery. 643 622

> "No Christian slept that night. As daylight appeared a wailing cry was heard. At first we thought the king was gone but we soon learnt that it was a cry of joy from the king's sister because the king was better. . . . From that time Christianity spread and increased in strength while the kingdom of the devil became weaker and weaker" (so declared Peter Vi).(9)

Although the main opposition to the spread of Christianity came from factions within Tonga itself, there were also white renegades who gave trouble. Several of these had settled at Vava'u. One of them who came with Finau to the festival, named Thomas Harris, abused Thomas publicly at the island of Ha'ano (north of Lifuka). These men were trying to persuade Tongans not to follow the missionaries' teachings. Relief came opportunely from the senior naval officer in the Pacific, Captain the Honourable William Waldegrave, H.M.S. *Seringapatam*. He called at Vava'u and removed five white men who had been maligning the missionaries and opposing their work. Such an action may seem arbitrary, but not so at that time and with the type of whites concerned. John Thomas in Ha'apai expressed warm appreciation of the captain's action. Captain Waldegrave gave as a reason for removing these men the harm they were doing to England's reputation among the islanders.(10) 797 563

On 5 August 1830 Thomas reported that from 1000 to 1500 people in the Ha'apai group had "embraced Christianity and are open to instruction", and also a few had come from Vava'u for this purpose.(11) In November 1830 there were 170 in his class and 150 females in his wife's afternoon class, at Lifuka. The number professing Christianity in the Ha'apai group had then risen to 1800. 797 794 [781]

Taufa'ahau delayed his baptism until 7 August 1831. On the day before this event there was a feast, with nineteen fat hogs and several hundred yams. At the service more than 2000 were present, the majority outside the chapel. Taufa'ahau had begun "meeting in class" as a "member on trial" in November 1830. Three of his children were baptized together with him, all kneeling in front of the pulpit; the children were Salote, then seven years old, and David and Josiah, the latter only 1½ years old. Taufa'ahau told the congregation, 797 643 795

> "A short time ago I was living in a very wicked way and served the devil with all my might. . . . I now come to give myself and these my children, body and soul, to the Lord Jesus and to be baptized in His Holy Name." (12)

The chief took the name George, from George III of England, whose name had been venerated in Tonga since the visit of Captain Cook. Thenceforward Taufa'ahau was generally referred to as King George by the missionaries. The large and bold handwriting in recording the baptism of "George Taufa'ahau, King in Lifuka" (sic) seemed to indicate John Thomas's recognition of this important event. [551]

Taufa'ahau was not only certain of his own faith, but on the day of his baptism he called upon his people to live consistently with their profession as true Christians. Some time elapsed before he became a local preacher, in 1834, and when this happened he insisted on wearing European clothes whenever he occupied the pulpit; this showed his desire to resemble the missionaries in outward garb. He asked to be given preaching appointments to various villages in the same way as other local preachers. He proved eloquent and effective. When he prayed at the conclusion of a service the feelings of the congregation were 797 643 794 [291] [177]

aroused as his own voice rose and there were audible and emphatic responses 797
from the people. Once, when another local preacher declared, "The Gospel saved 643
me. Did it save anyone else here?". the king instantly jumped to his feet and 794
called out. "Glory to God, it saved me" — an indication of how demonstrative he was in avowing his faith in these early days.

The wife whom Taufa'ahau chose from those he had kept in a polygamous 797
state was Lupe Pau'u. the bride he had taken from Laufilitonga who was now 644
the Tu'i Tonga. Afterwards she took the name Salote when she was baptized on 795
27 September 1834 by James Watkin.(13) The name Salote was taken from Queen 551
Charlotte, the consort of George III. Not only did the wife and a daughter of Taufa'ahau take this name but also the illustrious great-great-grand-daughter of Taufa'ahau. Queen Salote Tupou III (1900-65). The marriage of George and [585]
Charlotte according to Christian rites did not take place until 1834.(14)

After nearly two years in Ha'apai Thomas returned to Nuku'alofa to become 797
Chairman of the District following the departure of Nathaniel Turner. He had now gained confidence through his success in Ha'apai. There was a ringing note of hope in his reports:—

> "We have good reason to believe that Tonga will be a key to very many islands in these seas. The Tongan people have been famous in the sight of the islands of these seas for ages past." (15)

The new missionaries, James Watkin and Peter Turner, continued to supervise the mass evangelization of the Ha'apai group, according to the model of their predecessor. Peter Turner in his Journal referred to the school at Lifuka beginning daily at 6 a.m. He described the baptisms, with sometimes as many [795]
as 100 received at one service. He noted the Tongans' fastidiousness about their [181]
appearance as seen in the care taken with special clothing for the baptismal [291]
service, the variety of patterns in the native cloth *(ngatu)*, and the neat plaiting of the mats worn around the waist. Then he added, "What joy beamed on the faces of the persons baptized".(16)

An unusual incident occurred at 'Uiha in June 1832. The schooner *Snapper* 177
came to the group for trading. First it called at Lifuka where the owner, Robson, was given hospitality by the missionaries, Watkin and Turner, although he was very critical of missions. The crew of *Snapper* tried to entice women aboard and were annoyed with the missionaries when they failed. The vessel then went to 'Uiha, the only island in Ha'apai that had not then accepted Christianity; Taufa'ahau warned the captain not to go to 'Uiha but the owner said it would be easier to have trading dealings with the non-Christians there. A quarrel broke 177
out when the owner endeavoured to procure a large pot used by whalers. The 439
'Uiha people had obtained it from a ship wrecked near Tongatapu about fifteen 609
years before. While the argument about this deal was proceeding the chief Malupo was induced to go on board the *Snapper*. There he was bound, in order to force the people to come to terms and secure his release. The vessel threatened to sail off with the chief unless the pot was brought but it remained at anchor a short distance from the shore to do more trading. (It was noted afterwards by the Christian converts at Lifuka that all this was happening on the Sabbath!) The islanders attacked the crew when they were off their guard, killed the captain and two others, and released their chief. They then brought the ship nearer shore and began to plunder its cargo; the clothes of the owner and crew were taken from them. When news of this affray reached Lifuka, Taufa'ahau set out with a 177
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643

[1832-1833]

by Aleamotu'a. It was an old canoe that proved unmanageable in the storm 797 that struck it between Tongatapu and Nomuka, southern island of the Ha'apai group. During a battering of two days and a night the canoe was driven back, and at dusk on the second day it struck a reef. All the seventy occupants were swept into the sea. Mrs. Cross, a delicate woman, was struck repeatedly by the waves and she died in her husband's arms. He was unconscious when dragged ashore on the small island of Toketoke, near Atata, the island off the north-western tip of Tongatapu. Twenty-one were drowned. Mrs. Cross's body was washed up later at Hihifo and buried at Nuku'alofa. The bereaved missionary had lost all his possessions also. In the month following this tragedy he went alone to his task in Vava'u.

There was a heroic quality in this quiet missionary. After beginning his work in Vava'u Cross went, in May 1832, to the northern island of Niua Toputapu, 180 miles beyond Vava'u, and stayed there seven weeks winning converts. On 797 1 June 1833 Taufa'ahau also went to Niua Toputapu on a passing whaler, together 643 with a teacher who was appointed to that island. The people were surprised to 798 find that Taufa'ahau did not force them to change their religion although he did everything possible to expose the falsity of their idols as he had done in Ha'apai and Vava'u. Watkin afterwards reported (27 February 1834) that the first party 797 to take Christianity to Niua Fo'ou, the island to the west of Niua Toputapu, was menaced by the people according to their custom when any unexpected voyagers approached their lonely island; the Vava'u Christians had muskets but put only powder in them to frighten the islanders and gain a landing. Before long Christianity was firmly established on both these distant outposts of the Tongan group.

On 5 August 1832 Finau was baptized with the name of Zephaniah, together with eight of his children. A large chapel was built at the main village, Neiafu. On 9 August Cross held a service when the first post was driven. About 3,000 people were present at the opening service on 17 September.(80) First, the missionaries, Cross and Turner, entered, then the excited crowd trod on each other and almost pulled down the fence as they rushed to the doors. Vava'u became famous as "the land of chapels".(81) The enthusiastic villagers vied with [368] each other in erecting ornate chapels — a characteristic of Vava'u ever since.

Before the end of the year 1832, 660 people in Vava'u were meeting "in [794] class" and there were 1,012 in the schools. On 12 August 1833 the first Lovefeast [871] in Vava'u was held, with 2,000 present; "the thing was new to the people . . . many wept".(82) The 1833 report for the District showed:

Tongatapu	955 members,	204 on trial,	840 scholars	[794]
Ha'apai	2,000 members,	1,084 on trial,	2,613 scholars	[871]
Vava'u	900 members,	1,500 on trial,	2,252 scholars	

Finau died on 18 February 1833. He had nominated Taufa'ahau as his 643 successor and there was no opposition to Taufa'ahau adding Vava'u to his own 634 territory of Ha'apai. When Taufa'ahau was installed on 30 April all the Vava'u chiefs assented. Peter Turner was present when this occurred.(83) Some years afterwards it was said that Taufa'ahau was intended only to be regent for Finau's young son, Matekitonga, but there was no evidence of Finau having indicated this. Even if it were true, Taufa'ahau had become Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845 and had thus united all Tonga under his rule, and this took place before Matekitonga had grown to manhood. Captain Peter Dillon, arch-critic of Taufa'ahau and the

[1834-1847]

797 experiencing a similar visitation. It is natural to point to the Tongans' excitable
781 temperament and also to the guilt-complex which the preaching of those days tended to produce. This does not explain everything. There was an undoubted change of behaviour in many of those who professed conversion in 1834. Their new and consistent pattern of living could not be attributed to transient emotionalism even though the effect soon faded with many others. Some of the converts became stalwart teachers, not only in Tonga itself, but in Fiji and Samoa; and some of these, in Fiji, passed through fires of persecution. Joel Bulu can be taken as a conspicuous illustration. His published life-story tells of a highly emotional conversion in Vava'u in June 1834, immediately before the revival itself broke out. The psychological details, the release from fear and guilt, the newly-found joy, can be analysed critically, but the result was a life of unswerving fidelity and sacrifice in this transformed Tongan who became Fiji's greatest missionary.

It is true that the 1834 experience disposed missionaries to expect a repetition. Peter Turner, after scenes of a similar kind in Samoa (1835-39), returned to Vava'u, and in 1846 experiences like those of 1834 took place under his leadership. On 4 February, 1846, he wrote that 529 people had been converted and that the chiefs had pardoned all lawbreakers — except those who had set houses on fire (an outbreak of arson had preceded the revival). Peter Turner's study was then a place of prayer for many penitents. Prayer-meetings were sometimes held at 5.30 a.m., 5 p.m. and from 8 to 10 p.m. on the same day.(43) Shortly afterwards, Walter Lawry visited Tonga as General Superintendent. He was disposed to disparage this revival (as did Stephen Rabone, a fellow-missionary), and at the District Meeting of 1847, over which Lawry presided, Turner came under criticism for what Lawry called the "unholy excitement" attending his ministry in Vava'u.

The Wesleyan Church in Tonga accepted as normal and desirable this emotionalism which was so vividly seen in the 1834 revival. Most of the missionaries sincerely encouraged it, believing that these emotional scenes were evidences of the Holy Spirit's converting power. Not all of them seemed to realize how easily the natural feelings of the Tongans could be aroused and how transient the experience could be in many cases.

797 However, the immediate benefits of the 1834 revival were striking. Member-
781 ship soared although the missionaries were careful to receive only those who
795 attended "class" and who gave proof of their conversion by changed conduct.
794 Even with these requirements the District Meeting at the beginning of 1835 reported an increase of 3,602 members, making a total of 7,838. Ha'apai showed 3,448, Vava'u 3,061, Tongatapu significantly only 929, Niua Toputapu 400.

797 The Church in Vava'u felt a special responsibility for the two Niuas. In 1835 a party of 150 people went in two boats to Niua Fo'ou; seventy of them were lost in one boat. In another voyage forty were lost, and these included the senior teacher appointed to Niua Fo'ou; his body was washed up, still clutching his Bible. The District Meeting on 22 October 1836 appointed a missionary, John Spinney, to Niua Fo'ou; his health, unfortunately, was most precarious and he died, of tuberculosis, not long afterwards, without taking up this appointment or any other in the islands.

Niua Toputapu benefited from Peter Turner's visit of five months under special circumstances. He had left Vava'u on 15 January 1835 to take up his new

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appointment in Samoa. To the dismay of John Thomas, Turner set out in a boat of only 17 tons, with his wife, five teachers and fifteen other Tongans. The little craft ran into a hurricane before it reached Niua Toputapu after a full week of danger and exposure. Turner recorded that during these experiences the Tongans, huddled on the gale-swept deck, sang hymns and were remarkably cheerful. He and his wife were too weak to stand, let alone walk, when they reached Niua Toputapu. While waiting for a better vessel to call he preached, taught, and baptized the leading chief and his wife and many others including 200 children; he also married 290 couples. There were 557 meeting in class on Niua Toputapu when Turner went on to Samoa and two chapels had been built during the five months. [794]

A conspicuous result of the revival of 1834 was the decision of the District Meeting on 2 January 1835 to send William Cross and David Cargill to Fiji and Peter Turner to Samoa. Fiji already appeared on the British Conference station-sheet, but not Samoa. However, the District Meeting relied on the report of the Missionary Committee in London desiring everything possible to be done to establish a Mission in Samoa.(46) In extending their spheres of labour the missionaries were fulfilling the hopes that John Thomas himself had expressed — as long ago as 28 June 1829, when he looked forward to the spread of Wesleyan Missions to Fiji and Samoa, and again on 12 July 1831, when he wrote: "Tonga will be the key to very many islands in these seas".

Unfortunately for Tonga, by these decisions the missionaries were depriving their own Church of the much-needed consolidation of the results of the revival as well as failing to provide enough well-equipped teachers and future ministers. Such was the enthusiasm in the Tongan Church that there was no lack of volunteers for Fiji and Samoa, and the best teachers were sent. The Chairman, John Thomas, does not seem to have sufficiently realized the necessity for training and retaining indigenous leaders for Tonga. Furthermore, the staff in Tonga was weakened through sending three senior missionaries to Fiji and Samoa. The arrival of new men could not compensate for the loss of capable leaders like Cross, Cargill and Turner. Charles Tucker, after little more than one year in Tonga and with an imperfect knowledge of the language, was left in charge of Ha'apai single-handed, with a church of 3,500 members scattered through that group.

With the exception of a large part of Tongatapu where political circumstances complicated the position, the Tongan nation had been swept into Christianity in little more than five years. Everywhere, except in Tongatapu, the old religion seemed to have collapsed almost at a touch. For this, the influence of Taufa'ahau and Finau in Ha'apai and Vava'u, and, to a lesser extent, Aleamotu'a in Tongatapu, was largely responsible. Thomas West, the missionary who reviewed the history before and during his period of service (1846-55) in his book(47), assessed the reasons behind the change in the nation:—

> "We have seen, by what took place in Vava'u on the introduction of Christianity, how much the priestly craft, and the whole system of lies which it propagated and sustained, depended upon the countenance of the civil powers. No sooner was their protection withdrawn, than the whole fabric of heathenism collapsed and crumbled into ruin. It had no deep-seated and inherent vitality of its own, which could enable it to maintain its authority as a purely religious system. When left by the political power to its own resources, it fell at once, like Dagon before the ark of God. Hence the cause, in a secondary sense, of the rapid spread of the Gospel throughout the whole of these islands. And, although heathenism made a stand for years in Tongatapu, yet that was owing to political conditions, and not because of any inherent strength in heathenism itself."

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1839-1840]

refused offers of peace. The assault on Nuku'alofa on a Sabbath in January 1837 177
was led by Lualala, the rebel chief from Vava'u; when Dillon had met Lualala 797
in Lakeba, Fiji, he had promised to supply him with arms. Cargill also said that 669
the supporters of Aleamotu'a had made Taufa'ahau their commander as 798
Aleamotu'a was too old to lead them. He emphatically repudiated Dillon's charge that Taufa'ahau was a "satanic-like monster" and also declared that his former chairman, John Thomas, was in character the mildest of men.

After this it seems that no further reference was made to the tragedies of the 1837 war. The truce that was made that year was an uneasy one, but better 728
feeling, on the whole, prevailed for nearly two years. On 14 May 1839, 643
Taufa'ahau's only daughter, Salote, was married to a Christian chief, the Tu'i 644
Pelehake, who had been in Fiji. All parties met amicably at Nuku'alofa for the 585
wedding celebrations. The missionaries who officiated, Rabone and Tucker, recorded that the *Te Deum* was sung at the service in the chapel on Zion Hill.

* * * *

The regular work of the Mission proceeded in spite of the confusion in the 797
islands. At the District Meeting on 10 August 1839, Tongatapu reported a [794]
membership of 1,208 (a substantial increase), Ha'apai 2,890, Vava'u 4,268. This meeting of 1839 was mortified by the loss of Samoa as a Wesleyan mission field, but it recommended as new fields the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Uvea, Futuna, Niue, and Rotuma (it had first recommended Rotuma in 1835). There was no lack of optimism with such a list! (80)

The disputes that continued in Tongatapu were complicated by factors neither political nor religious. This was particularly the case in Hihifo. Rabone, who left the Hihifo mission-house late in 1839 to live alongside Tucker in Nuku'alofa, wrote in December 1839:

> "At Hihifo heathen and Christians cannot agree. We do what we can to keep the Christians right but it is very difficult, inasmuch as their quarrels are principally of a family character." (81)

Rabone's journal of 22 January 1840 also showed the difficulty that the missionaries found in trying to restrain the war-like feelings of their own people who were nominal Christians of only a few years' standing:

> "It seems one of the most difficult things imaginable is to restrain these semi-savages from [181]
> war when once commenced, in fact it would appear that many of them actually delight in these scenes of bloodshed; we talk, we write, we promise, we threaten, but the old disposition of the people breaks through all."

On 14 January 1840 Ata's followers left the Hihifo fortress and murdered 669
four unsuspecting Christians working in their gardens. Aleamotu'a was visiting 798
Hihifo at that time, trying to effect a complete reconciliation. It was regarded as unprecedented that an attack should take place while the king was making such a visit. A party of eighty men was sent from Nuku'alofa to bring the old king back safely. About the same time Ata besieged Fo'ui, the fort which the Christian minority in the district had built for their protection. (82)

As in 1837, Aleamotu'a sent a hurried message to Taufa'ahau seeking his 643
help. He also gave Taufa'ahau a site in Nuku'alofa for his own fort; henceforth 669
there were two forts for the two kings. Rabone recorded his fear that 798

> "the awfully sickening scenes of 1837 will in all probability be again exhibited, but we [812]
> are for peace, O Lord, and we beseech Thee to give peace in our time." (83)

[1831-1847]

never been recognized as a separate entity by the medical profession at that time. 164
The missionary's wife wrote:

> "After Matthew returned from the islands a very severe affliction broke out. It is supposed 165
> to have been brought in a ship to Vava'u, from thence to Nuku'alofa in a canoe, and several of the canoe's crew first died in it. Then it broke out among the people at Nuku'alofa. We heard of the fearful devastation which it made among the people at that place, but nothing occurred here for some time. At length, it found its way to Hihifo, by people going backwards and forwards to Nuku'alofa to attend funerals, &c.
>
> "Some were taken in the way, returned, and died in a few days. It is quite a new complaint in these islands. The first week the complaint broke out here six died in it.
> We were constantly kept on our feet from the morning to night, giving out medicine,
> bleeding persons who were seized, &c. It generally attacks the young, strong and healthy. [797]
> Bleeding is considered indispensably necessary in this affliction. As many as fifteen have been bled in a day at this place. The people are seized in different ways, some at the back of the neck, others at the foot or feet, hand or arms, side, back &c., yet all one complaint. Then comes on a numbness in the limbs, some have much pain, others only a little. It often happens that one or both the arms, one or both the legs, sometimes one arm and one leg, or both arms and both legs, are numb, cold and dead, destitute of all use and feeling. It is almost always preceded by cold shivering, and that followed by a hot fever; very great constipation of the bowels is another very prominent feature in this complaint.
>
> "Many have died suddenly in it, tho' but a few hours before they seemed in full strength, only a little numbness in the limbs. My husband went to see a young woman who did not appear near death then, only both her arms were numb and dead. We went again to her and she was just dying as we entered the house, tho' that were only about three hours after my husband had been talking with her." (84)

In the mid-19th Century the Church was the centre of the community's life. 794
Tonga had become a nation at prayer, in all Wesleyan districts. The Sabbath
was the great day of the week, with crowded congregations, enthusiastic choirs, 796
and fervent preaching. Sunday began with prayer meetings at daylight, followed by 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. services, also Sunday School and, generally, evening gatherings of a more informal nature.

Sabbath observance had been readily accepted not only as a welcome 796
cessation from labour but as the external evidence of the change from a 527
non-Christian society. The people believed that the sternest divine sanctions, like their ancient *tapus*, guarded the Sabbath ordinance. This was clear from the early days as when, in 1831, a hurricane wrecked the Spanish brig *Candide*, in Tongatapu, with some loss of life; the people believed that the tragedy was due to God's wrath upon a crew that had obtained wood and water on the Sabbath preceding the wreck.(85) Tonga has followed its policy of Sabbatarianism to the present day, and this has been embodied in its laws and the Constitution of 1875.

It was almost inevitable that religion tended to consist in compliance with 797
Church rules, as far as many converts were concerned. Attendance at Church in 795
Wesleyan districts was the universal custom; indeed it was specifically enjoined
in the Code of Vava'u, 1839, though evidently not enforced. John Thomas 797
declared that even sleeping during a church service was sinful; he believed it was 783
due to tiredness after Saturday night dancing. 513

> "I told them of the evil of such things and that it was a sin to sleep in the worship of God." (86)

Not only the prohibition of all work and games on Sunday but the rigid 797
control of personal behaviour became marked features of Tongan Wesleyanism. 794
This discipline became irksome to many as time went on. Thomas Adams, who came in 1847, deplored the unwillingness of many converts to accept "the restraints

[1837-1851]

of the Gospel" (13 February 1850), and he wrote again, on 15 January 1851: 797
"Many young people have cast away the restraints of religion".(87) Modern 794
theologians would consider that these worthy men were insisting upon Old
Testament law rather than "the Gospel".

The missionaries held the rigid views of behaviour found among Evangelicals in the mid-19th Century. They believed that prohibitions were necessary to mark the conversion from pagan practices, and they were saddened by instances of reaction against their policy. The Tonga Circuit report 1853-4 lamented the fact that "many who manifest great anxiety to progress in civilization imagine it necessary to throw off the restraints of religion".(88)

The Tongans' much-loved dancing was condemned by the early missionaries 797
because it often led to immorality, especially late at night; it was prohibited in 535
the Code of 1850. Actually, the words and actions of Tongan dances were more [833]
innocent than those used in other islands such as Rotuma where dances were
definitely lascivious; in all cases, missionaries, who understood the languages better than most Europeans, knew the danger very well. To ban all dancing, however, and not just the night dances, was quite unjustifiable. Gradually the prohibition of these beautiful forms of recreation was relaxed. There has been no more popular, innocent, and indeed valuable cultural pastime in Tonga than the dances in which history, legends, occupations and even scenery are represented through singing and rhythmic movements.

Innocent sports, such as foot-races, canoe-races, and other diversions, were 797
banned because they had been used in pre-Christian days, and because they 526
occupied time that, the missionaries felt, should be given to productive employment. This insistence on a "work ethic" was characteristic of contemporary Protestant beliefs.

Smoking was prohibited for some years. Wilkes on his visit in 1840 noted 797
that it was very popular with the non-Christians but forbidden among the 276
converts whom Taufa'ahau had called upon to follow his example of abstinence. It was said to be undesirable and unhygienic when practised in crowded conditions. Rabone (29 September 1837) wrote that sometimes smoking led to a house being burnt down. It was also said that Tongans always swallowed the smoke, with harmful effects. More serious was the allegation that smoking gave opportunities for immoral conduct. W. G. R. Stephinson said that he had been told that, before their conversion, women smoking alongside men was a sign of their willingness
to practise immorality.(89) W. J. Davis (18 March 1862) said that smoking [833]

> "is an introduction to the crying sin of Tonga, namely, fornication and adultery".(40)

The missionaries' example was emphasized. As early as 12 September 1838, Rabone wrote about another missionary who smoked:

> "Bro. ———— must either give it up or the people may be allowed".(41)

The brother in question was soon transferred to Fiji (but not, apparently, because of his smoking) and he proved a failure there, on other grounds.

Kava drinking, universally practised and rooted in Tongan custom, was never 797
prohibited. In this respect the missionaries in Tonga differed from some of their 273
counterparts in Fiji.

All customs associated with pre-Christian days, such as the presentation of 797
gifts at funerals, were banned, as these were regarded as offerings to the dead. 178
The missionaries were motivated always by the desire to make a complete external [764]

The line between interference in politics and merely giving advice when requested 797
was often uncertain. This was a controversial matter when, after 1860, Shirley Baker, while he was still a missionary, regularly gave the king advice.

At Taufa'ahau's request, Thomas helped him frame the Vava'u Code of 797
1839, the king's first venture in legislation on a European model. Promulgated 643
at Neiafu on 29 November 1839, it was the first written law in Tonga, the first 671
step also in limiting the power of the chiefs. It indicated, probably more accurately than later and longer documents, what Taufa'ahau thought was suitable for his people.

The opening phrases showed that the king based the Code on the recognition of God as the fount of law and authority:

> "It is of the God of heaven and earth that I have been appointed to speak to you; he is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, he doeth whatsoever he pleaseth, he lifteth up one and putteth down another, he is righteous in all his work, we are all the work of his hands and the sheep of his pasture, and his will towards us is that we should be happy." [779]

In this code the chiefs were directed to give land to their people who were [565]
under obligation to cultivate it properly. The emphasis placed on industrious
habits is a strong feature of these laws. No man who refused to work was to be [622]
fed or assisted, and unmarried women who did not work were to suffer in the [461]
same way. Chiefs were forbidden to take the property of commoners and they [689]
were not to take the law into their own hands. In order to safeguard the gardens [622]
it was made unlawful to turn pigs outside their sty. If a pig destroyed a garden, [565]
its owner was to shut it up immediately on receiving the complaint and to [685]
recompense the damage done; after a second offence it was lawful for the injured person to kill the pig and keep its carcase.

Retailing "ardent spirits" was heavily punished. Adultery and fornication [273]
were made criminal offences. (Chevalier Peter Dillon criticized this section.) (46)
It was typical of the sternness with which the missionaries of that period were 671
endeavouring to enforce sexual purity that Rabone noted with satisfaction the 684
public flogging of two men and a woman found guilty of fornication. The flogging was carried out by the order of the Governor of Vava'u.

> "May this chastisement be sanctified to their good and the good of all." (47)

These penalties seemed to show that the missionaries' stern denunciations from [797]
the pulpit were not always effective. John Thomas had told his people that, "if they did not leave off their adultery and fornication, they would burn in hell for ever", and he also found that, while warning the congregation in these terms, he had to reprove some women twice for laughing.(48)

Other sections of the Code strongly reflected missionary influence. All work 671
and games were prohibited on the Sabbath. Attendance at public worship was 796
enjoined in these terms: 799

> "That all my people should attend to all the duties of religion towards God; that they 527
> should keep holy the Sabbath day, by abstaining from their worldly occupations and labours, and by attending to the preaching of the Word and the worship of God in their places of worship."

A court was established at Neiafu to sit monthly. Four chiefs were 671
appointed as magistrates. The Code of Vava'u was made applicable to Ha'apai 692
also, and to Tongatapu after Taufa'ahau became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1852-1856]

other practices which Wesleyans disapproved. The priests declared that, even if 797
their converts' actions contravened the laws of Tonga, "the suppression of them 798
by the Government would be a breach of the second clause of the French Treaty, and France would punish any breach of that Treaty". Thus it seemed that "freedom of worship" in the Treaty was being interpreted as freedom to adopt practices forbidden in Tongan law; at least the Wesleyan missionaries so regarded it, as revealed in their comment, "This is the first cause of our anxiety".(62)

More Wesleyan "anxiety" was reflected, not long afterwards, in a letter from George Lee, Chairman of the District, to Eggleston (8 September 1862, from Vava'u):

> "The priests told the king, in the presence of Mr. Moss [his Secretary] that he and the Queen and all the Tonguese married by Wesleyan missionaries are living in adultery. . . . The king is a sound Protestant but it will be a miracle of mercy if he can keep clear of papal and French intrigues." (63)

It would seem that the missionaries were too sensitive in their disagreements with their rivals and prone to exaggerate mild situations.

Before long the priests realized that their political activities and their reliance 797
upon French warships had alienated them from the Tongan people as a whole. When this attitude changed, their Mission benefited. Their real merit, in piety and charitable works, began to influence many people and the numbers of Roman Catholics grew, especially in central and eastern Tongatapu.

More important than sectarian disputes was the Wesleyan missionaries' concentration on repairing the moral and religious damage of the war period. Through the dislocation of Tongan society under war-time conditions passions 797
had been inflamed and virtues had faded. The Tongatapu Circuit Report for 794
1855 referred to continued difficulties:

> "Our backsliders are not confined to those who have professed the name of Christ for a few years only. Would that it was so! But we have written in this black roll the names of local preachers, [class] leaders, long-standing members, and, after having been reproved, rebuked and exhorted, without effect, they have been excluded from church membership. Numbers, Tongatapu Circuit church-members, last year, 2,249; this year, 2,094." (64)

Furthermore, the missionaries had to deal with numbers of people in 797
Tongatapu accepting Christianity for the first time. They sought to inculcate in them Christian principles, by preaching, oversight in class-meetings, and by renewed attention to the schools. An encouraging evidence of progress in the general work was mentioned in the Ha'apai Circuit Report of 1856; it stated that fourteen men had volunteered that year from Ha'apai to go to Fiji and Samoa as pastor-teachers.

In October 1853 Tonga was visited by Robert Young, the deputation sent by the British Wesleyan Conference to inspect the Missions in Tonga and Fiji as well as in Australia and New Zealand, with a view to the separation of the Wesleyan Church in these countries from the British Conference, a proposal which became effective in 1855 as a result of Young's report. His book, *The Southern World, Journal of a Deputation*, vividly recorded his experiences. He was accompanied on his tour of Tonga and Fiji by Nathaniel Turner, then a senior minister in Australia, who rejoiced to see the progress of the work he had begun twenty-six years before.

Like the missionaries, Young had nothing but praise for King George. He [643]
was struck with both the physique and the manners of the island ruler, particularly mentioning his "dignified meekness".

[1853]

Young reported the typical Sunday appointments — 5.30 a.m., prayer-meeting 797
with the king and queen present; 8 a.m., Sunday School; 9 a.m., public worship 796
with about 700 crowded into Zion Chapel and many others outside; 2 p.m., 794
Sunday School again with the Queen one of the teachers; 3 p.m., another service. Young met one of the leading chiefs from Pea, formerly a rebel and now a worshipper, and also a son of the Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, a Wesleyan local preacher. Not only Sabbath observance but the universal practice of family prayers was noted by the visitor. He did not, however, approve the adoption of European clothing.

Clearly the organization of the whole Mission in Tonga favourably impressed 797
Robert Young. Tonga then had 109 chapels, 527 local preachers, 7,000 church [368]
members, 185 schools with 7,279 pupils (adults and children). An eight hours' [793]
examination of the schools in Nuku'alofa showed Young the work of Richard [794]
Amos. The pupils had followed custom in oiling their bodies for the occasion. [877]
Long Scripture passages had been memorized, and so had names of the rivers 797
in Europe, the countries in the American continent, and the distances from 872
London of the principal towns in England! A class of 150 men, "full of vigour, [302]
worked sums in Arithmetic with as much energy as if a war-whoop had been sounded, and the effect was startling when they chanted the multiplication table"! Young mentioned that Thomas Adams, whose brother was a noted English astronomer, had predicted the time of an eclipse of the moon with a precision that amazed the Tongans.

The decade which followed the end of the war in 1852 represented a high 797
water mark in the history of the Wesleyan Mission. Not only was outward success manifest but harmony prevailed, both harmony in the ranks of the missionaries and, generally, between them and the king. It was to be rudely broken in a few years.

Footnotes:

(1) Thomas, J., *Journal*, microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S. 113

(2) Lyth, R. B., *Journal*, Vol. 2. B.534. M.L.S.; and Lyth, *Day Book*. B.535. M.L.S.; also Wallis, Mrs. M. C, *Life in Fiji for five years among the cannibals*, p.394; Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.100.

(3) West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, pp.211-2.

(4) West, ibid, p.212.

(5) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 10, 20 November 1848. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, IX, p.71.

(6) West, ibid, pp.212-3.

(7) Lawry, W., *2nd Visit, Friendly Islands and Fiji, 1850*, pp.81-2.

(8) Thomas, J., *Letters*, 10 February 1844. A.1960. M.L.S.

(9) *M.N.*, 1846, p.44; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, p.364.

(10) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.168; Leconte, *Memoires Pittoresques d'un Officer de Marine*, II, pp.426-7, 585.

(11) Brookes, ibid, p.168.

(12) Lawry, W., *Friendly and Feejee Islands, Missionary Visit, 1847*, p.62.

(13) Lawry, ibid, p.62.

(14) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, p.422.

(15) Ross, Angus, *New Zealand Aspirations in the pacific in the 19th Century*, p.44.

(16) Cummins, ibid, p.424.

(17) Cummins, ibid, p.427.

(18) Thomas, J., *Journal*, 21 February 1850. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-49. M.L.S.

(19) Turner, P., *Journal*, 11 June 1850, Vol. 10. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, 1851, p.511.

(20) Lawry, W., *Second Missionary Visit to Friendly and Feejee Islands, 1850*, p.63.

(21) Lawry, ibid, pp.71-2.

(22) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.74.

(23) Pompallier, J. B., *Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania*, pp.14-16; *M.N.*, 1838.

[1862]

The king had written to John Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, suggesting 797
that the missionary collections should be free-will offerings and not, in any sense,
exactions upon the people. Eggleston not only agreed with this but added that, 643
if the collections were enforced by kingly authority, the priests might expect the 794
same for their Church. In this letter (19 September 1862) Eggleston consoled
with Tupou in the loss of his son, Vuna, but expressed a sentiment strange to
our modern ears,

> "Had he lived he might have been led astray and died without hope, and then you might have been for ever separated." (26)

The ceremonies at Vuna's funeral showed a change in the people's mood 644
and a sharp resentment from the king and chiefs against the missionaries' strict 764
supervision. When the burial took place at 'Uiha in January 1862, the old
custom of presenting mats &c. *(tukuofo)* as to the dead was revived. It was said
by some that the presentations were made to the king, by others that it was a
mark of respect to the dead. The procedure was that mats and food were taken [775]
to the grave, with a prayer that the spirit of the dead would not return to curse
the people.(27) It was because this was the original purpose of *tukuofo* that it
had been banned. John Thomas in his Journal recorded the promise of the king
in 1848 to prohibit *tukuofo* and his injunction upon the chiefs to observe this.(28)
The legal prohibition, however, had been removed in 1861.

W. J. Davis, who was Chairman of the Mission in 1862, lacked the sensitivity 643
and good judgment of his predecessor, Thomas Adams. When the funeral 797
presentations were made, Davis expelled between 30 and 40 preachers from
their positions for three months; these included some of the chiefs. "The king
and queen were in a great state of exasperation because of this" and, later, "The
king was still pained" (29) — so much so that he resigned from all his positions in
the Church.

Davis wrote to Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, about what had happened 797
and stated that the decision to expel had been taken by a unanimous vote in
the District Meeting".(30) Davis spoke of "doing battle in high places" against the
chiefs and the Parliament. Eggleston, however, wrote an official letter of
disapproval, and also a "private and confidential" reply which was firm and
explicit indeed:

> "Unless you greatly alter you will drive the king and queen and all who love them away from our Church. . . . You will create an impassable gulf between yourself and King George for all you say will most likely be repeated to His Majesty. . . . I believe slander is doing far more mischief in your group than drinking or smoking. I feel assured that, if your letters were read in Conference, they would seriously affect your position, and I am anxious that you should not act in a way that will compel the Conference to appoint some other brother to take charge of the district. . . .
>
> "The king's unwillingness to treat with you on matters connected with the Church might arise not from indifference to the subjects but from the deep sense of injury inflicted upon him and his people by an undue severity in the exercise of discipline. You cannot rule him and others now like a parent of children; they will not submit to it." (31)

Those closing words might well have been underlined for the benefit of all missionaries in Tonga at that time and in following years.

The Conference in Sydney endorsed Eggleston's action. It also resolved to send Stephen Rabone, "as an old pastor and friend of the king" to visit Tonga, believing that "his counsels would be beneficial to all at this trying period in the history of the Mission".(32) Rabone was unable to make this visit.

[1873-1887]

The Church paper reported that Mr. Baker also addressed the Conference (in 795
January 1873) "and conveyed the request of the agents of the District that it be 797
no longer regarded as a Mission, being able to support its own ministers and teachers". This report contains a comment arising from the enthusiastic accounts of progress at Tupou College which Baker described. This came from one of the most respected leaders in Australian Methodism, W. B. Boyce, President of the first Conference after separation from Britain in 1855, who was so influenced by Baker's report as to declare —

> "If graduates in the native institution can do Algebra and Mensuration, they ought to be able to manage circuit accounts; and if Tongans can raise £9,000 a year for ministerial maintenance, there is nothing against a Tongan Conference with its native President." (14)

Incidentally, neither Baker nor any other missionary ever suggested a "native President".

However indefinite the resolutions may have been they indicated no reluctance on the part of the Church in Australia to favour self-government in Tonga. The report also shows an attitude typical of Baker's lack of candour; he was acting as though his District Meeting, his fellow-missionaries, "the agents of the District", had authorized him to present a request when nothing of the kind had happened.

After Baker returned in April 1873, he found his colleagues disturbed by 795
his actions, particularly his failure to bring the request for changed status to the 797
District Meeting before referring it to Conference. Minns wrote to Chapman (4 794
May 1873):

> "This is a very critical period in Tonga, and I am particularly anxious that no change should be made in the mode of carrying out our Church work without much careful deliberation. . . . I am decidedly opposed to our becoming an independent Church, and am astonished that the Conference should entertain the question for a moment." (15)

Moulton also wrote to Chapman (2 June 1873):

> "I was very surprised to see in the *Advocate* that Mr. Baker presented the request . . . that Tonga should become an independent District . . . I am sure, sir, however anxious you may be for such a 'consummation', yet you will reprobate such an attempt as that on the part of a Chairman to steal a march on his brethren. Not one of us knew anything about it and no request was sent up. I have spoken to Mr. Baker on the subject, and he says he was wrongly reported, having said 'request of the king', not 'missionaries'. But it is very evident to me from the remarks made and the resolution moved that the Conference understood it to be *our* request." (16)

What Tonga received in January 1873 was permission to form a Home Mission Fund from which local expenses would be paid; and, on 2 December 1873, the District Meeting received the formation of this new fund, "sanctioned by the Committee, as the first true step towards self-government". Both Conference and District Meeting, therefore, were moving onward, if not quickly enough for Baker.

The events that followed in 1874 were of great importance for the future of the Church. Later, Sir Charles Mitchell, in his inquiry into the disturbances of 1887, dealt severely with the failure of the Church in Australia in 1874 to grant "the desire of the king, chiefs and people of Tonga to assume a more independent position in the Wesleyan body than that hitherto accorded to them".(17) The details in the Church records deserve closer examination than Sir Charles may have been able to give in 1887.

First, it should have been recognized that the Church was not unwilling to accede to requests from Tonga even if it acted with caution. Following the decision

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[1873-1874]

in January 1873 when the formation of the Home Mission Fund was sanctioned, 795
the Missionary Committee resolved, on 3 February 1874:

> "This Committee hails with satisfaction the attempt of the Tongan Church at self-support 797
> and recommends the Conference to appoint the General Secretary [= Chapman] to 794
> visit the Friendly Islands as a deputation and report to next Conference (1875)." (18)

Second, no Wesleyan Mission in any part of the world at that time had been given self-government, and the Church "fathers", though admittedly too paternalistic, felt doubtful about permitting a young Polynesian Church to manage all its own affairs so soon.

Third, there was an unavowed but unmistakably growing distrust of Shirley Baker himself — a useful fund-raiser while under some degree of surveillance from Sydney but a man against whom various charges had been made. How would an independent Tongan Church fare under his leadership?

Fourth, the king's request of 1874, on which Sir Charles laid much stress, was for an undefined scheme of local control.

The king's letter itself is recorded in the Tonga District Meeting Minutes, 643
1874. It was dated 24 March 1874, and was a general request in these terms:

> "He [the king] is fully aware that Tonga owes its present position to Christianity, and 795
> in making this communication he cannot forget or cease to love the first missionaries. 797
> Messrs. Thomas, Rabone, Watkin and others . . . But it appears to His Majesty that 794
> the step taken will be beneficial to the Church as well as to the Government in Tonga. . . . It is his desire that the affairs of the Church flow in the proper channel. It is not necessary for His Majesty to repeat what he has frequently stated, that it is his desire to live and die a Wesleyan." (19)

On the same date as this letter from the king (24 March 1874) a meeting of the king and chiefs was held. Unlike the vagueness of the king's letter, the resolutions of this meeting were explicit. Rutherford believes that they were drafted by Baker because of their expression and the peremptory tone which was out of keeping with customary Tongan deference:

> "(1) That the time has come when the Church and State should be separated . . . It is now 21 years (sic) since the liberation of the people was made, but in Church affairs the former system is still continuing, and is therefore opposed to the law of liberty, and this meeting says that the time has now come to fulfil the promise made by the missionaries in this matter, and that Trustees be appointed by the Church who shall have the control and superintendence of all matters connected with the Church, and all arrangements for the erection and support of churches &c. shall emanate from the Trustee Meetings, according to the usual Wesleyan law, and not as is the custom here at present.
>
> "(2) With regard to the money which is now collected regularly, this meeting says it is true the people complain of the large sums sent away from the country which are collected at the missionary meetings . . . This meeting says that the time has come when Tonga is able to support the entire expense of the Mission in Tonga, the support of the missionaries, the assistant missionaries, and the whole of the agents employed by the Church, and this meeting earnestly desires that the Committee and Conference will allow the Church in Tonga to become an independent Church, to be supported by the people of Tonga as their Church, as becomes a people who know and understand the Gospel. . . . As it is at present it appears that the possession of Tonga has become the property of another." (20)

The resolution of this meeting of the king and chiefs fixed 1875 as the year when it was desired that the changes should take place, and ended with His Majesty asking for the petition to be granted, "so that the Wesleyan religion may continue steadfast and immovable to the end". (Signed by the King's Secretary, J. P. Miller.)

Before these requests came, first, before the District Meeting on 30 November

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[1874]

1874, the opinion of Henry Greenwood is significant. He was generally disposed 643
to support Baker, and he gave a balanced opinion in his letter to Chapman (14 795
July 1874): 797

> "You will have received a copy of the king's letter to our District Meeting and Conference 794
> [24 March 1874]. Perhaps it would have been wise on the part of Mr. Baker to have informed the brethren in his Circuit and District of the contents before he had sent it away to Sydney for publicity, but I hope that no publicity will be given to it before it has been laid properly before our District Meeting. . . .
>
> "I have maintained ever since I came into the District that we are too conservative, neither the native ministers nor preachers in the Quarterly Meeting have their proper place; yet I do not feel prepared to take a leap such as that desired by the king, and my reason is simply that the office-bearers (that is, native agents) have not been trained or prepared for anything of the sort . . . To be candid, I fear what is proposed, or rather if what is proposed is carried out, it will be putting the power not into the hands of the Tongan Church as a Church but the Tongan chiefs . . .
>
> "The Tongan Church is not prepared for independence, it has not asked for it (the king and a few chiefs are not the Church), and it would be most disastrous to give it independence." (21)

Not only did Greenwood feel that the Tongan Church was not ready but he was concerned at the prospect of the chiefs dominating it; again, the dangers of a "chiefly church" were apparent.

On 30 November 1874, the Tonga District Meeting, dealing with these 795
requests in the first instance, recommended to the Missionary Committee and 797
Conference that they be granted, except for the missionaries' salaries, which, it 794
was felt, should not be left for the Tongan Church to provide but should be the responsibility of the Church in Australia; that class-money, the so-called ticket money, should support all Tongan ministers and their assistants, with any surplus to go to the Home Mission Fund; and that this Fund be controlled by a committee on which all Tongan ministers and an equal number of laymen should sit. The addition of Tongan ministers to membership of the District Meeting, and laymen in the Circuit Quarterly Meetings, was recommended. This represented an advance towards self-government and Baker deserved full credit for promoting this step.

The District Meeting of 1874 also desired that the king be asked to grant a Model Deed with Trustees holding church property, on the same lines as in Wesleyan Churches in Australia, with the condition that land so secured should not be used for other than Church purposes. As far back as 1861 the District Meeting had resolved

> "that the time to secure . . . all our church properties . . . has now arrived; and, King George having promised to sign the necessary documents, . . . steps be immediately taken for the accomplishment of this purpose." (22)

Preparations were authorized by this District Meeting (1874) for the observance of the Jubilee of the Wesleyan Church in 1876, with a special fund to endow the Home Mission Fund, the surplus to be used to build five Jubilee Memorial Churches and a new Tupou College hall, this fund for local expenditure to be locally controlled.

All these reforms, recommended by the District Meeting, were approved by the Church in Australia.

When Chapman, Missionary Secretary, arrived in Tonga in November 1874 to investigate the whole situation, as arranged by the Conference in January 1874, Baker was able to show him that the Tongans were appreciating their measure of self-government, and he pointed to the success in raising money for local needs as proof of this. Moulton, though ever watchful of Baker, had been impressed

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[1874-1875]

with the successful introduction of Tongans into membership of Circuit Quarterly Meetings and had congratulated him upon the result.(23) The slight improvement in Baker-Moulton relations was reflected in better support for Moulton's work at Tupou College. Referring to these matters, Moulton had written to Chapman: 795 797 794

> "The missionaries are recognizing its value" (i.e., the College) "more and more . . . Mr. Baker and myself are working harmoniously in our respective spheres and helping one another where we can." (24)

The general satisfaction with the new arrangements was seen in the record of the District Meeting on 30 November 1874:

> "Praise must be accorded to the Rev. S. W. Baker, our Chairman, for his zeal in bringing about the present state of things. We are, however, greatly indebted to our General Secretary [Chapman] for the initiating of a scheme, which we think will for the present satisfy the wants of the Tongan Church, and must eventually lead to this becoming a native Church, supported by native means, and carried on almost exclusively by native agents." (25)

After this District Meeting, Chapman, Baker and Moulton waited on the king with the completed scheme for the Home Mission Fund, and "he expressed himself as well pleased with the contemplated changes".(26) [643]

The 1875 Conference in Sydney, on 20 January, received Chapman's report, and decided that the Missionary Committee should continue to be responsible for the salaries of the missionaries, but that class-money, ticket money, should support all Tongan agents' salaries, with any surplus to be paid into the Home Mission Fund which should also aid the church schools. On 3 February 1875, the Missionary Committee endorsed these arrangements, and added that the Mission schools should be maintained "until provision is made by the Government for primary education". It resolved also that the king be asked to give permission for the Model Deed for the leasing of all church lands needed for church purposes.

All these changes evidently gratified the king, who agreed to the appointment of Church trustees in terms of the Model Deed, in conformity with usual Wesleyan practice. The Model Deed, 15 December 1875, made Baker, Moulton, and two Tongan laymen the trustees; the Model Deed was signed by the king, and the seal of the Tonga Government affixed. The leases were for 99 years. [643]

It seems that Sir Charles Mitchell did not realize the nature and extent of these measures taken in 1874-5. Sir Charles, certainly, believed that the recognition of the Tongan Church with "District status" in 1881 was given seven years too late; but the evidence of the Tongans' reactions to the new measures in 1875 should have been considered. Baker's letter to Chapman on 6 January 1875 showed his own and the king's satisfaction:

> "You will be glad to hear that the king has signed the Deed and that the Government seal has been affixed. Now we may say, as far as Methodism is concerned, we have little to fear in Tonga." (27)

On 15 March 1875 Baker wrote to Chapman,

> "I am glad that the Committee have given sanction to the financial scheme. I told the old king so and his face brightened up at the news. It will be the best thing that was ever done for Tonga." (28)

Again, on 26 June 1875, Baker told Chapman:

> "I greatly rejoice that all the resolutions of our District Meeting have been unanimously passed in Conference. . . . I am truly thankful to the Lord for our success . . ." (29)

Not only was the king gratified but the next District Meeting, which now included all Tongan ministers, on 27 December 1875, sent a warm resolution of thanks to the Conference in Sydney for the new arrangements.

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[1876-1878]

(Pylstaart) being brought to 'Eua for the convenience of the missionaries whereas 797
in fact the king had brought them to Tongatapu and 'Eua because of "the vile 177
traffic of the whalers with the women of the island",(81) and the depradations of 166
blackbirders who took the inhabitants to guano digging and sugar planting in
Peru and Chile where some, unfortunately, died. Baker had no difficulty in showing
the falsity of statements of this nature.

Sir Arthur Gordon did not attach much weight to many of Layard's charges. 797
In regard to one, that Ma'afu of Fiji should be the heir-apparent instead of 'Unga, Gordon was satisfied that 'Unga was properly the heir. Summing up, Gordon considered the only justifiable grounds for complaint against Baker were two, his political activities and his excessive fund-raising efforts.(82) Baker was to hear more about these — but not from the discredited Consul Layard. On Gordon's recommendation, the Earl of Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary, and Lord Derby, Foreign Secretary, refused to take any action against Baker on Layard's
charges.(83) Not only did Baker succeed in refuting these but he regarded 1876, [794]
the Jubilee year, as the high-water mark in the history of the Mission, and proudly [795]
recorded that, as well as the large financial contributions,

> "we have had a glorious revival, upwards of 600 have joined the Church, upwards of 60 Papists have turned over; never has Tonga had such a glorious revival." (84)

It was significant that, up to this stage, Baker was supported by Frederick Langham, veteran missionary and influential Chairman of the Fiji District. He protested against Layard not informing Baker that he was laying charges.(85) Langham believed that Gordon was moved by a desire to have Baker out of the way lest his pro-German policy injure British interests in Fiji and the whole area. Langham, in writing to Chapman, 28 June 1878, added:

> "I reminded him (Gordon) that he had told me that, if Mr. Baker were not removed from Tongatapu, he would have to take some action." (86)

Greater pressure was exerted against Baker when Maudslay arrived in June 1878 as Deputy Commissioner and Vice-Consul. From the outset, Maudslay was prejudiced. He soon began investigating the missionary's conduct in both political and financial affairs. Naturally, Baker resented Maudslay's inquiries; he even preached against him from the pulpit, warning the people to ignore him, from the text, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you . . . ?" (Galatians iii. 1).

Maudslay had the assistance of another officer of the Fiji Government, David Wilkinson, who was a practising member of the Wesleyan Church and respected by the Chairman of the Fiji District, Langham. Wilkinson became very critical of
Baker. He told Langham that some Tongans, unable to pay their debts to [452]
Godeffroy after the collections, had lost their goods, sold at ridiculous prices; [685]
and this had occurred after drought and hurricane had reduced them to abject
poverty.(87) Maudslay and Wilkinson, in their visits to villages, met with difficulty in securing witnesses because Baker was dismissing from office in the Church those who gave them information. Wilkinson wrote to Langham:

> "He is pursuing so tyrannical a course towards natives and all he regards as his enemies and threatens the utmost pains and punishment to those who gave us information." (88)

Wilkinson, "as a Wesleyan", asked Maudslay to suspend action against Baker pending an approach to the Missionary Committee to remove him. Langham wrote to Wilkinson objecting to Baker not being given an opportunity to defend himself against the allegations; nevertheless, Langham added:

> "But, after taking all these things into consideration and giving them due weight, there still remains a feeling of uneasiness and an apprehension that there may be something underlying it all." (89)

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[1879-1880]
Chapter XIV.

THE SECESSION OF THE FREE CHURCH (1885)

Although Baker had evidently determined to flout the will of the Conference 797 he attended its sessions in Sydney in January 1880. The report of Chapman and Clarke was received. His protestations had no effect. The Conference unanimously endorsed the Missionary Committee's action in recalling Baker from Tonga. The Conference resolution showed the central fault in Baker's conduct as far as Church law was concerned:

> "With reference to his interference in the politics of Tonga Mr. Baker has gone beyond the bounds permitted to our missionaries."

Baker requested, and was granted, permission to "rest", that is, to be left without a Church appointment, for one year and to reside in New Zealand for that period. He had, at first, asked for permissoin to vacate his ministerial tasks for five years and to assist the king and the Government for that time, with the option of resuming his ministerial position after five years; this was contrary to the rules of the Church and Baker was informed that this request could not be entertained. He gave the Conference his pledge not to return to Tonga during the one year of his residence in New Zealand. He was not specifically forbidden to return to Tonga lest such a requirement give umbrage to the king whom the Church was always anxious to conciliate but, instead, Baker's promise not to visit Tonga was accepted. This pledge he flagrantly disregarded.

The king reacted angrily to the Conference's decision not to reappoint Baker 797
to Tonga. He threatened to revoke the Church leases. He also sent Conference 643
a request that Tonga be made an independent district with direct representation 795
to the Conference, "in all respects like colonial districts", with his promise that 794
the missionaries' salaries would be met by the Tongan Church. Being an independent District or having "District status" instead of being a "Mission District" would mean that Tonga would no longer be subject to the Missionary Committee. It was this Committee with which Baker had repeatedly clashed. It was a matter of pride with the king that Tonga should have a higher status and should not be supervised by the Missionary Committee as Fiji, Samoa and New Britain were.

This Conference of January 1880 agreed to place the king's request before the General Conference which alone could decide the issue; General Conference was to meet in May 1881. Conference also pointed out that the application should pass through the District Meeting in Tonga in the first instance. Actually, the matter had been discussed in the District Meeting in December 1879, with Watkin in the chair; Baker was then in Auckland. The Meeting asked Conference and General Conference "to give the king's request earnest consideration and to accede as far as it is possible to the request".(1)

Baker had gone to New Zealand late in 1879 before attending the Conference 797
in Sydney. He had accompanied David 'Unga, Crown Prince and Premier, who 644

[1874-1885]

The possibility of the Mission relinquishing the primary schools had been 797
ventilated previously. The letter of 24 March 1874, from the king and chiefs, had 872
asked for the Church primary schools to be handed over to the Government. The 658
Tonga District Meeting, with Baker in the chair, dealt with this request on 30
November 1874, and decided

> "that the day schools connected with the Mission be maintained efficiently until adequate provision is made by the Government for primary education . . . The best plan for many years yet will be a denominational system." (27)

Immediately following upon this, the Mission Board, on 3 January 1875, had resolved to maintain efficiently all its day schools in Tonga "until adequate provision is made by the Government for primary education". Now that Baker had taken action to acquire the Church schools, without notice, the Mission Board, on 31 August 1881, reiterated its belief that

> "the time has not arrived when the Church schools can, with advantage to the people of Tonga, be relinquished." (28)

Compensation was promised, but never paid, for the land and school buildings.

In Sydney, in 1878, when Oldmeadow was on furlough, he had heard Baker speak eulogistically about the Church day schools and Tupou College. After Baker took over the schools in 1881, he met Oldmeadow in Vava'u. Oldmeadow expressed disagreement with his action. Baker contended that he was following the example of the Australian colonies which had set up a secular educational system. Oldmeadow argued, as other missionaries had done, that the circumstances in a recently-evangelized country such as Tonga were quite different from those in Australia. Following this conversation, Oldmeadow wrote in his journal:

> "I have taken a great deal of pains to discover his [Baker's] object, and I am bound to confess that the conclusion I have been obliged to come to is that it must be simply spite and greed of power — spite against the Conference by which he was forced to retire from the ministry as they would not allow him to be both virtual Premier and missionary in one, and spite against an individual in particular who in connection with Tupou College had had so much to do with the success which had been achieved in the matter of education. . . .
>
> "For a long time I fought against the conviction, but after long and careful watching I am obliged to adopt it that it was an act of vindictiveness, knowing that the irritation caused would be severe against the individual in question [i.e., Moulton], and a desire to lessen the influence of the Church on the one hand and increase his own on the other. And how has it succeeded!" (29)

The Government college began in 1882, with Mr. J. W. Roberts as Principal. 873
Baker had known Roberts in his youthful days at Castlemaine, Victoria. He was 658
a skilful teacher and a Methodist local preacher. Among other things Roberts [212]
introduced a system of Pitman shorthand in Tongan. It was decreed that
Government positions in future would be given only to those trained in the [874]
Government College, a thrust against Tupou College which had prepared men for
both Government and Church offices since 1866. At first the Government College [794]
students attended the Wesleyan services in Zion Church but, because of the
presence of Tupou College students and the growing ill-feeling between the two
parties, Roberts kept his lads at the Government College and conducted services
for them there. After the secession in 1885 the Government College trained men
who became pastors in the Free Church. This was one of many evidences of [659]
Government support for the Free Church.

Against mounting odds Moulton continued his teaching, hymn-writing, and 797
church administration. He had practical problems also. During a storm one 873

[1901-1924]

in New Zealand. When Mr. Watkin visited Ha'apai in 1920, his ministers gave him an honour reserved in ancient times for the Tu'i Tonga and the Tamaha; ten black-coated Free Church ministers waded into the sea at Lifuka and carried the boat ashore with Mr. Watkin seated in it.(47) 795 563 [576 643 644]

It was sometimes hoped that the Free Church might co-operate with the Wesleyans in sending ministers and pastor-teachers to overseas fields. When Rodger Page, Chairman of the Wesleyan Church, made a request to Mr. Watkin in 1912 to persuade some of his ministers to answer an urgent call from New Britain and go together with Wesleyans, the appeal fell on deaf ears; and a discreet inquiry along the same lines from the Mission Board in Sydney met with no response whatever. 795 797

The disparity between the financial strength of the two Churches was marked. Visitors to Tonga sometimes commented upon the contrast between the large and ornate buildings of the Free Church and the poor properties of the Wesleyans. The fact was that the Wesleyans had the burden of their primary schools and the College, and they had a struggle to pay Tongan ministers and teachers a meagre allowance as well as support two or three European ministers and European female teachers. The Free Church, on the other hand, left education entirely to the Government; and, with its numerical strength, it was able to build and maintain its handsome churches. 795 797 794 [872 873 793 658 659]

Throughout the early years of the 20th Century the strength of the Free Church appeared especially in Ha'apai and Vava'u whereas, proportionately, the Wesleyans had a better following in Tongatapu. In 1902 the numbers for the Free Church were — Ha'apai, 4,883; Vava'u, 4,413; Tongatapu, 4,616. In 1923 their numbers were — Ha'apai, 6,416; Vava'u, 4,886; Tongatapu, 5,344. In 1911 the denominational statistics showed — Free Church, 15,968; Wesleyans, 4,055; Roman Catholics, 2,387.

* * * *

At nearly every General Conference the question of a possible reunion in Tonga was introduced, but with more optimism than knowledge of the position. Its messages in 1901 and 1904 were rejected by the Free Church. The 1913 General Conference wrote to Mr. Watkin asking him to bring the question of union before his next Conference, with the assurance that Free Church ministers and members "would be welcomed to the fellowship and brotherhood of the Australian Church". However sincere the motive, the expression was infelicitous. The message continued, 795

> "Should union with the Methodist Church in New Zealand" (recently separated from Australia) "be preferred, the General Conference will consider any proposal in that direction." (48)

General Conference authorized the President-General to take all necessary steps before the next General Conference (in 1917) for giving effect to the reunion proposals if these were accepted by the Free Church. This resolution was useless at that time; yet, as it transpired, the President-General in 1924 used the powers given in 1913 to endorse the reunion settlement from the Wesleyan (Methodist) side. When Mr. Watkin replied, in July 1916, to the 1913 General Conference's request, he merely said,

> "There are still grave difficulties in the way. The benefits of union would be very great but a forced union would greatly increase the difficulties."

And there he let the matter rest.

[1947-1971]

and disposed him to introduce new measures to expand Tonga's productivity. His 644
brother, John Ngu Tu'ipelehake, also studied in Australia, specializing in [178]
agriculture. The princes' double wedding in 1947 was an occasion of great
rejoicing among the people.

In 1953 the Queen visited Britain by invitation, to attend the coronation of 643
Queen Elizabeth. There she won the affection of all who saw her, so that even to 484
the present day the names "Tonga" and "Queen Salote" are linked in their minds.
When she arrived, she soon attracted attention as "the tallest Queen of the
smallest kingdom in the world". Her unaffected, yet regal, manner and her
geniality made her the darling of the British public before the memorable day
when, returning from Westminster Abbey, the Queen would not allow the hood
of her carriage to be raised as protection against a continuous downpour. To the
tumultous cheering of the hundreds of thousands who lined the route, she rode,
waving enthusiastically in response to their cheers, when not wiping the rain from
her forehead with her handkerchief. A leading article in a London newspaper
said, "Few visitors from overseas can ever have endeared themselves so widely
and speedily to the British people as the majestic lady who braved the drenching
of the Coronation procession in her open carriage".

It was with great rejoicing that the Tongan people heard that Queen Elizabeth 648
and the Duke of Edinburgh wished to include Tonga in their itinerary later in the 643
year. All parts of Tonga vied with each other in preparing lavish hospitality. The
Queen vacated her palace for the royal visitors. She felt obliged in courtesy to
drive round the palace all night, and 400 men and women were on guard the
whole time with flaming torches, observing an old custom. The royal party attended
the Sunday morning service at the Centenary Church, with over 2,000 people
inside and many hundreds outside. The President, the Rev. A. E. McKay, with
the Secretary of Conference, Sau Faupula, conducted the service. The choir sang [794]
the "Sanctus" from Bach's B Minor Mass and did so with the verve for which [533]
Tongan church choirs have become renowned. In her message to the royal party
after its departure, Queen Salote said, "I do not doubt that this historic occasion
has renewed the store of faith and joy in the hearts of my people as rain refreshes
a garden".

Tonga has been one of the most serious examples of population explosion. 161
Efforts to increase production and to find additional exports have hardly coped
with the needs of the rapidly expanding population. There has been a marked 163
decline in the death rate and especially in infant mortality, as a result of the [165]
Government's improved medical and public health services. The birth rate,
however, is still high — 29 per 1,000 in 1971. There was an increase of 35% 161
in the population in the ten years, 1956-66. The population (always below 25,000
in the first quarter of the century) had swollen to 77,429 in the census of 1966.
It is now estimated at 95,000 (1975), and to become 118,000 in 1980 — and [433]
this in a small archipelago with a total area of only 269 square miles where the
inhabitants have to grow their food as well as cash-crops. The density of population [162]
is over 500 per square mile in Tongatapu, and much more in the small islands of
Ha'apai where many men have no land. The family planning programme initiated [659]
by the Government has had little effect, largely through conservatism. In 1966, the [842]
average Tongan mother in the 35-45 age-group had slightly more than six
children. The crowding into Nuku'alofa, which has grown from 3,000 fifty years [162]
ago to more than 25,000, has had unfortunate social consequences. Congestion,

[1924-1972]

the Papua-New Guinea Highlands. John Fiusati, L.Th., also a missionary in the Highlands, like Mone, died soon after returning to Tonga. 797

The Church in Tonga has received wholehearted support from distinguished lay members of Conference who placed the interests of the Church first always in their objectives. Among these were Solomon Ata, who succeeded Prince Tungi as Premier, Moulton Finau Fisi'ihoi, lawyer and veteran member of Parliament, John Phillip Tongilava, the Queen's Secretary for more than thirty years, William Mataka 'Umufuke and Jonathan Tupou, prominent civil servants, all now deceased. 794 795

Two of the leaders today typify the dedication of the Church to its tasks. The Secretary of Conference is Siupeli Taliai, B.A., Dip.Ed., L.Th., still a comparatively young man, and first Tongan to be Principal of Tupou College with its enrolment of 700. Unusually energetic and forthright in religious and educational affairs alike, he insists on challenging the people always to obey the one Master, Jesus Christ, whose will should determine the course Tonga is setting — in family life, in the church and the nation. 795 [873] [771]

The President of Conference since 1970 is John 'Amanaki Havea, B.D., of Drew Theological Seminary, U.S.A. and Doctor of Divinity (St. Paul's University, Tokyo). Son of the saintly John Havea, brother of Paul Havea of the Solomons, he breathes the same spirit of complete devotion. Except for Setaleki Manu, President for the year of reunion, 1924, 'Amanaki is the first Tongan President. He was also the first Tongan Principal of Sia'atoutai Theological College. He was chosen Chairman of the first Conference of Pacific Churches in 1960 and held that office until 1971. In 1972 he was elected one of the eight Presidents of the World Methodist Council, the only representative on the presidium from Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. His sagacity and his wide experience have won him the respect and esteem of his own people.

'Amanaki and Siupeli are the third generation of ministers in their families. Sau Faupula was the fourth in his family line. No Church shows more clearly than the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga the influence of the families of ministers from whom one generation after another has drawn its Church leaders. So the goodly succession runs. In such leadership and with the people's response lies the hope of the Church for the future.

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(1) Luke, H., *Queen Salote and Her Kingdom*, p.77.

[113]

181 /27 cont./
351 about the deterioration of various Tongan crafts (that is, caused
177 them to die out or become crude), the natives either having lost
461 interest entirely in the necessary work, or having adopted more
convenient, in their eyes "more attractive," substitutes or means
of production, often without acquiring a genuine understanding of
the new /process/. (44)

44. In this connection see the origin and present aspect of the villages (p. 134 ff.) and the "modern" house types (p. 187 ff.).

181 The Tongan can still be regarded as undependable, insofar as he
805 often fails to keep promises or appointments made both with his /28/
822 own people as well as whites, without ever feeling as having committed
177 a discourtesy or even an injustice. The long European influence has
also not been able, save for a few exceptions, to accustom the Tongan
to the concept of time. In making appointments he frequently mixes
up today and tomorrow, and especially, with the time of day and the
hour, he is rather casual, even if he owns a watch. In Tonga where
one lives far from the world's hustle and bustle, European dependability
and punctuality, without which we can no longer manage in the
complicated life of our large cities, are, of course, unnecessary.
[577] Not arriving on time, not keeping a promise won't matter much on the
islands, and such a "lapse" is not held against anyone by the Tongans.
This is simply natural in the Tongan way of life. However, in one
181 area the natives have become accustomed to a punctuality that can
805 almost be called exactness, namely /the attendance at/ religious
●794 services. With old and new clocks they endeavor to keep to the time
177 announced on individual radios or received from other islands in their
[202] group; promptly at the beginning of the frequent services (that is,
on the dot if possible) the big drum is beaten or the bell rung and
without delay they proceed to church where, usually next to the
pulpit or the preacher's table, there is a pendulum clock or an alarm

181 /28 cont./

805 clock, so that the duration of the service will not exceed or fall
794 short of the prescribed length. (45)

177
[202] 45. On Nomuka, for example, the shrill ringing of the alarm clock often breaks into the final hymn.

All faiths in Tonga, especially the recently become independent Tongan churches, practice such punctuality, even though on most islands it has been many years since a white person has influenced the course of church life. This type of exactness is part of the Tongan religious feeling. The fact that this punctuality in church worship, practiced for decades, has not encroached on daily life proves this.

181 In general, the Tongan shows a piety which is undoubtedly not
771 inferior to that of his forefathers in pagan times, (46)

177 46. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 120/121, 135, also I. p. 108.

which probably increased during the change brought about by the influence of missions, and perhaps became even more profound because the new religion, Christianity, promised immortality even to commoners. (47)

47. A more specific description of changes in the religious area in the chapter on "Religion" pp. 369 ff.

181 The majority of Tongans are today definitely churchminded. However,
771 as in pre-Christian times, (48)

48. For example, J. Martin, loc, cit. I. pp. 159, 389.

there are definitely cases of skepticism /29/ about divine omnipotence, augmented to the point of open criticism or emphatic disbelief. (49)

49. Non-churchgoers, opposition to ecclesiastical moral code, atheism.

181 The Tongans have always been excellent speakers. Even for a
537

/54 cont./

292
[824)
(294)

137. This is plaited from bast of the Hibiscus tiliaceus, has long, pendant bast fibers and is entirely in natural color. See pp. 321/324 for method of production.

as well as the much-worn kie-kie lou fau. (138)

[824)
(294)

138. A belt likewise plaited on Hibiscus tiliaceus bast, with long pendant bast fibers, but more artistic and dyed with European colors (for instance, crimson, purple, blue, pink, green, vermilion); also a variation called kie-kie Lopa decorated with red tree seeds (Adenathera pavonina). See p. 323-324 for method of production.

291 Tongan women still commonly go barefoot. Some wear sandals or white tennis shoes, more in the seaports, naturally, than on the small [177) islands. A few also struggle with European /55/ women's shoes. --Turbans made of undyed tapa (feta'aki) sometimes temporarily wound /around the head/ as a protection against the sun are reminiscent of similar head coverings of times past. (139)

139. Cf. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

292
177
Hats (tata lou 'akau) (140)

140. Cf. pp. 320-323.

292
[824)
[294) plaited of leaf strips of pandanus (lou tofua and lou kie), which older women only wear for church and younger women and girls also on other festive occasions or merely as a sun shield on Sundays, go back to mission influence. (141)

141. The "sun hats" mentioned by Cook (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280) were very probably different.

[294) They were introduced at that time by missionaries for women and girls who had made a confession, as a sign of their membership in the congregation.

294
296
178
Among the new tasks of sewing, washing and mending, (142)

764 /86 cont./
[354] and a deceased commoner is now probably given more lamps then was
(177) formerly customary and that was permissible, compared with chiefs. It
[565] is forbidden to smoke in the house or to drink kava or eat food. The
(784) village chief, the matapule and other villagers drink kava and eat in
(276) a neighboring house; they talk about the deceased and his good deeds.
(622)
(565) If the deceased was a member of the Wesleyan church (like most
[794] Tongans), the choir of the village church come and (usually standing
[533] in an adjoining room of the death house) sing hymns until daybreak.
This is perhaps a substitute for the old individual mourning songs. (243)

243. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 198.

A few relatives have meanwhile gone into the bush in order to gather sticks (for example, of siale mohe mohe) which they lash with bast from the fau (Hibiscus tiliaceus) to make the traditional latticed bier (fata). A kinsman has arranged with the pastor the time of burial; the date was, for example, proposed by the widow and the rest of the relatives agree. (244)

244. Many burials take place early in the morning; but afternoon is also a preferred time.

The time of burial has arrived. The satin, the handkerchief and the mats are removed from the deceased, the tapa on which he is lying is folded around him and tied with another piece of tapa. The bier is covered with mats (papa and fala paongo) and tapa (ngatu tahina or ngatu'uli). The deceased is laid on this; the satin sheet and handkerchief are again placed over him and everything is shrouded with one (or two) valuable mat(s) and a large piece of tapa (ngatu'uli).
[202] Then the church bells are rung and ten or 20 younger relatives (not the sons) carry the bier to the graveyard. (245)

[184] 245. In Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) where the graveyard is more distant and the technical facilities are more progressive, the corpse is driven to the grave on a truck.

764 /86 cont./

the grave on a truck.

[602] The nearest relatives follow behind the bier, then the more distant relatives and finally the accompanying villagers. In villages that
[533] have a brass band it walks at the head of the funeral procession and
[177] plays a European "funeral march."

764 765 302 As a sign of mourning the widow, the sons and daughters of the deceased, as well as the children of the deceased's younger brothers and the close relatives of lower rank have their hair cut off; among all the other relatives (that is, also sons and daughters of the deceased's sister) the women wear their hair loose, the men /wear theirs/
[178] uncombed. This custom reflects the ancient kinship hierarchy. Other
764 765 304 178 formerly customary /87/ practices, such as the burning of spots on the body, the beating and rubbing of the cheeks until they are sore, and the wounding of the head (246)

246. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 223/224.

are no longer observed, just as the custom of sacrificing finger joints for the recovery of higher-ranking relatives (247)

247. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 222.

764 765 782 177 643 has not been practiced for a long time. Naturally, the sacrifice of a child (248)

248 Compare J. Martin, loc..cit. II. p. 220.

and the widow sacrifice (249)

249. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 221.

(once customary apparently only following the death of the supreme ruler, the Tu'i Tonga) has long since been forgotten under Christian influence.

764 794 If the deceased was a Catholic, the body, beside which the priest (or catechist) said prayers during the night in the hut, is borne to church in a procession, and, after the appropriate rite,

/B7 cont./

764 is brought to the graveyard. (250)

794 250. For this purpose the Catholic congregation in Fungamisi, for example, uses a European wooden bier which is covered with Tongan mats.

If the deceased was a Wesleyan, the pastor who, at sunrise, prayed with the relatives in the house, awaits the funeral cortege at the graveyard situated at the end of the village, where some ten relatives (or villagers) have already prepared the grave for the deceased. The [554] grave site is always selected by the family eldest (ulu i he famili). 764 For a burial, the Tongans frequently open a grave that is about three or six years old, or one that has been used for a very long time, in which, for example, ten skulls of former burials may be lying.

The present Tongan graves may, in general, be divided into three types. The first type, the older and probably the most common one on most of the islands of the Archipelago, consists of a four-sided lining of the pit with coral limestone slabs cut on the beach, and a covering slab of the same material. The second, undoubtedly more [177] modern type, has the stone slabs replaced by European cement (that is, the cement-sand mixture used in building), whereas the third type is merely a simple, unlined pit. These graves do not have a base slab, since the natives wish to avoid an accumulation of rainwater in the pit. However, they try if possible to place a slab (of stone, wood or corrugated iron) on the grave in which the corpse rests, usually without a coffin. (251)

[177] 251. Though European-style coffins are familiar to the natives, they are seldom made.

764 531 Over these graves are piled small mounds (square in shape with slanting sides or shaped like stepped pyramids) or whitish-yellow or whitish-gray (usually coarse) sand from sections of the beach, and these are often decorated with geometric patterns of black pebbles (from the beach or reef). A fresh grave is also decorated with

/87 cont./

764 kie-kie lou fau (252)

531 252. Compare p. 323-324.

or sisi kakala, (253)

253. Compare p. 82-84.

mounted between sticks. Some graves are also decorated with borders of
[177] shells or beer /88/ bottles, and in the vicinity of European settlements
or at the suggestion of a white pastor, the Tongans have begun using
crosses and other European-type grave structures of cement (less often
764 cast iron). The graves of Protestants, Catholics and members of the
[794] rest of the faiths in Tonga are the same, except that they have
[184] separate graveyards. The graves of chiefs usually differ from the
[565] resting places of commoners in size and more elaborate decoration. The
graves of the royal family are situated in Nuku'alofa; they are made of
concrete and in shape are reminiscent of the large langi, (254)

254. Compare W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 30ff.

the famous grave structures of the old Tu'i Tonga.

764 The village graveyards with their more of less disintegrated,
178 largely unornamented mounds of light sand are a development of recent
times. In olden times, when most of the people lived scattered on
the various islands, commoners buried their dead on their plantations.
(255)

764 255. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 201.

[533] After arriving at the grave the mourners sing a hymn, the pastor
reads from the Bible (for example, Psalm 90), and the deceased is
[779] lowered into the pit which is spread with tapa (over the old skulls)
of a mat (for example, fala paongo),. Then follows the sermon which
[533] includes the life history of the deceased. More hymns are sung.
Over the corpse, which is usually covered with an additional mat
(fala paongo), the grave is closed with a slab. The "eldest" turns

/94 cont./

621 of their common life in the villages. In some respects the village
[189] community seems to be one large family. True, every household has
[592] its own separate dwelling in the village. But the household is by
621 no means isolated in the community. For example, if a villager of the
425 small islands needs any sort of object, be it a particular mat of a
chicken or even a pig or a horse, he will ask a fellow-villager for
it and will receive it without a direct service in return. This is the
old system of "reciprocal insurance," for tomorrow the giver may be a
[576] suppliant. It is a rule of courtesy to grant the suppliant his wish,
just as it is an unwritten law never to take unfair advantage of this
421 mutual aid. The concept of property and right of ownership is far
425 less developed than in Europe. Perhaps the chief's power of disposal
[565] over the property of commoners in ancient Tonga is one reason for this;
[178] another reason may be the common production (that is, with the coopera-
[476] tion of several villagers) of essential things such as houses, boats,
[177] tapa and mats. It is at any rate interesting that European influences
[436] were never capable of eradicating this ancient custom of natural
621 material assistance, through the introduction of money. On the small
432 islands very few natives sell their products to their fellow-villagers,
554 and they are not exactly highly respected for doing so. On Tongatapu
177 and Vava'u the influx of money is, of course, greater, especially in
436 the seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu. But even in these small cities
632 every inhabitant can at least go to every other for a meal if he does
[571] not happen to have prepared one for himself.

186 In these towns, as on the small islands, the feeling of solidarity
621 unites the natives even beyond the divisive influence of the denomina-
795 tions. It often happens, for example, that Protestants and members of
794 other churches give money for the collections of the Catholic
congregations and vice versa.

476 /95/ Even "reciprocal insurance" also applies to work assistance,

/95 cont./

476 for a person may ask one or more fellow-villagers (aside from relatives)
to help with difficult undertakings on the plantations, in house
building or boat building. In general, everyone complies with such a
request, and the work is not paid, but usually acknowledged only with
[621] a good earth-oven meal. Here too community feeling is stronger
(177) than European influences. Thus, in December 1951 on Nomuka, many
476 Tongans of the "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga" /cited in English/
571 helped their fellow villagers of the "apostate" "Church of Tonga" to
794 make cement tiles for a new church building; even the pastor of the
795 Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga took part in this work, and the brass
533 bands of his church provided music for the construction work of the
"apostates."

186 The far-flung kinship of the villagers among each other on many
181 islands is an important, though by no means the sole, cause of this
solidarity. It is rooted above all in the particular Tongan character
[178) traits of good nature and gregariousness, and is strengthened and
443 cultivated by tradition. Even the Tongan traders with their small
181 shops which, as a result of their European-like way of doing business,
178 could be a foreign body in the community, sometimes yield to old
[477) customs. Thus it often happened on Nomuka, for instance, that a
merchant who had run out of certain articles asked his competitor for
them and successfully sold them.

476 The more casual joining together of several villagers in a work project for one of them often takes on a more permanent form by becoming a sort of cooperative organization for mutual aid. For instance, five men may agree to found such a work group, a kautaha, in order to cultivate their plantations. On the first day, all five will work for number one on his land, then for number two, and so on. During this rotation no further member is taken on; however, for the next round they are often willing to increase the number of participants.

/97 cont./

476 guests. Everybody is satisfied except one woman of the kautaha who
527 did not fulfill her "quota" (a length of tapa and two mats); she
574 spent some time on a visit to another island, and is very sad because
[554] of the bad impression she made on the audience.

476 Like the kautaha itself, the festival seems to be a recent
527 institution in which all kinds of old and new customs and traditions
574 mingle. Such festivals probably serve to stimulate achievement and
178 provide public control over work. Among the members of the kautaha,
182 they fulfill the need for recognition within the social group and at
621 the same time give large circles of the village community the much
[626] desired opportunity for a happy social life. However, the entire
village community is not included in such a festival. The kautaha
[203] invites relatives and friends, members of other kautaha and, above
all, the influential men of the village (often with written invitations),
so that the festival group includes approximately one-third or /98/
one-quarter of all adults of a particular settlement. Those who are
not invited feel that it is a matter of courtesy not to attend the
festival.

527 Other festivities (272)
574 272. Aside from the various "picnics"
● 794 /cited in English/ on the beach
or in the bush, organized by young
men and girls.

in the villages are nowadays usually connected with the church. Thus,
every Sunday, members of the three Wesleyan churches of Tonga
take turns giving a feast (faka-afe), usually mornings and afternoons
following the church services, to which the preachers, the eldest
kinsman of the host, and friends are invited. After a kava circle a
[262] meal is served (for example, the contents of an earth-oven: a pig,
[272] yams, sweet potatoes, a large salt-water fish, canned meat and manioc
pudding; or white bread with marmelade, cocoa and condensed milk),

527 /98 cont./
574 which is often paid for in advance by collections taken in the congregation.
794
[262] After the meal the guests disperse. The meaning of this
[272] feast is to thank God with food and drink for His blessings, through
[782] the preacher as His intercessor. Undoubtedly this type of festivity
[777] may be traced back to mission activity, but it is now organized by
the Tongan festival. This is shown even more clearly in the large
574 faka-afe on the last day of the year. If, for example, eight preachers
793 of the congregation are to speak on the evening of December 31st, a
794 special banquet is given for each of them on this day. The pastor, the
eight lay preachers and their invited guests-- altogether 20 or more
individuals--go from one banquet to another, soon amply fed and without appetite, but always intent on eating more and leaving a little
room for the next meal (out of courtesy to the host). In serious and
[537] carefully worded speeches they give thanks to God for having taken care
of the community throughout the year which is coming to an end, and for
always having given it sufficient food; nor do they forget, in these
speeches, to thank their respective hosts at great length.

527 The Christian festivals of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost have
777 not acquired deeper significance within the village community, To be
sure, preparations for Christmas, for example, are considerable: weeks
before, people busily make copra, stock quantities of European food
for selling (bagsful of sugar and flour, six-pound cans of corned beef,
etc.), and dress material, and they sew new gala attire. However, the
holidays then pass without special events; only a few young men get
drunk and beat each other up. Many Tongans even continue working on
(621) holidays, and the only function that unites the community (besides
(533) /99/ church attendance) is the performance in many villages of the
(431) large Wesleyan church choir which, during Holy Night, moves from
house to house, like English carol singers, singing British Christmas
carols /cited in English/ and other Tongan-English songs and, in

527 /99 cont./
177 [621] return, collects presents. Brass bands or groups of guitar players
[533] go about in the same way.

[431] It is not only on these festivals that the Christian religion
794 has taken on a certain importance in the community life of the village.
177 It is specifically through the integration of large sections of the
182 population in the many services of the various churches that it exerts
a certain influence on group formation in all settlements. Moreover,
[533] the bringing together of numerous adults of both sexes in the choirs
(each with some 50-150 voices strong) of the individual Wesleyan
churches has become important in the community life of many villages,
for the numerous evening rehearsals are a very welcome change in the
everyday life of the vocally gifted and song-loving Tongan men and
women.

527 Whereas the festivals mentioned (kautaha-show, faka-afe), the
574 church services and the choirs each unite only a certain part of the
182 village population (through membership or by special invitation), the
[621] old Tongan custom of the sociable kava circle has remained an
institution of community life that is accessible to every adult male
Tongan.

276 In ancient Tonga more kava was probably drunk than on the other
islands of the South Seas. (273)

273. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 224;
Johann Reinhold Forster's Bemerkungen...
/Comments/ p. 416.

[797] Although the missionaries did not by any means encourage the natives
[178] in this custom, (274)

[113] 274. See J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise among
the islands of the western Pacific...
/cited in English/ London 1853. p. 149.

it determines social life at least as much today as in the past and
[171] perhaps even more. In Tonga far more kava is drunk than in Samoa

/104 cont./

565 decades later, that the termination of the interdependence of nobles
178 and people is being worked out in practice to the fullest extent.

565 Whereas formerly the chiefs had total, almost godlike authority
178 in Tonga, today God and the church--and, only far behind the royal
794 house--are the supreme power for all Tonga. Among the people, their
(461) former work for chiefs has been replaced by work for the family and
(among the Wesleyan natives in particular) for the church. (290)

178
565 The present-day _tu'a_ pays only his (small) land rent (to the government)
(427) for his chief on whose territory his plantation lies; he seldom sends
(431) his chief natural produce--and generally only voluntarily--as a special gift. The commoners, through democratizing Christianity, gained greater self-assurance in relation to the upper classes, and this becomes all the stronger as they secure for themselves economic advantages through the copra trade and are able to acquire a certain amount of knowledge and culture in the schools. Intelligence and ability can make it possible for them to advance in various professions (government administration, teacher, clergyman, physician).

The chiefs, whose position of power has not suddenly, but very gradually, declined, look upon this development coolly and with a certain melancholy. Only the royal family and the 30 highest chiefs of the new class of _nopele_ (nobles) (291) created in the second half of the previous century by George I,

290. Many average Tongan families of the villages on the small islands today "contribute" approximately the sum of 30-50£T. a year (= circa 280-470 German marks) to their church; in addition there are the _faka-afe_ (banquets) for the preachers. Besides, every Tongan devotes a considerable amount of time to the numerous church services.

291. Altogether there are now 33 _nopele_ titles in Tonga, three of which are at present held by the crown prince and his brother.

511 439 177 291 651 794 /203 cont./ Since the quantities of bark cloth and mats that were made in the Archipelago have long since ceased to be used for clothing, as a result of European influence, but only for the sleeping places and for festive occasions, the natives are obliged to buy fabric for clothing or readymade clothing; (531)

531. See chapter on "Clothing," p. 67.

511 439 177 they must also pay the relatively low taxes and make substantial contributions to churches. Aside from that, all money--and this is, as a rule, the larger part of the proceeds from their copra work-- /204/ is used to buy supplementary European amenities. Among these are, first of all foodstuffs such as canned meat and fish, flour, sugar, etc., luxuries, above all tobacco, furthermore household objects such as lamps (including oil), dishes, bowls and pots, equipment, raw material and tools for building, fishing and woodworking, and finally things which for the Tongans are definite luxury articles, such as bicycles and cabinet-type sewing machines, perfume and powder.

245 434 [592] [461] [439] [177] Thus copra production has exerted a certain influence on the daily life of the Tongans. The whole family takes part in this work--at any rate, in some phases of it; the men devote many hours of the year to it. The money they make with this activity is largely converted into goods that change the external picture of Tongan culture--from clothing and food to house-building and household goods; money and goods also affect the character of the people and their interrelations--though up to now only to a slight extent. (532)

532. See pp. 17-22, 29-31.

[439] For the Tongans state the duty on the export of copra and the import of goods that results from this is the most substantial source of income. (533)

533. See Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the years 1950 and 1951 /cited in English/. London, 1952. p. 8/9. Copra export rose to

/214 cont./

Sandals

285 teka:

292 These are an ancient Tongan cultural heritage. Today, as in the
past, they are worn on the sharp-edged coral reefs by fishermen
(sometimes also by women).

285 The men (not so much the women) plait these sandals from the bast
462 of Hibiscus tiliaceus. Nowadays, they sometimes also use (for con-
824 venience) the less durable leaf strips of pandanus.

Hats

285 The occasional wearing of hats may be traced back to European
177 influence. Hence the plaiting of such head coverings is also a new
291 type of work in Tonga.

tata lou 'akau:

292 These hats are worn by older women when they go to church; they
794 are a sign of membership in the Wesleyan congregation where the
wearers have made a special confession. Younger women and girls
wear these hats not only for church-going, but also on other festive
292 occasions, and as sunshades on Sunday. In the opinion of one Tongan
177 who is in general well informed, hats have been made in the Archipelago
for about 40 years and are an imitation of models taken from the
(Europeanized) Niue Island where indeed very similar models are
plaited to this day.

285 /215/ The tata lou 'akau are made only by women from the leaf
462 strips of the lou tofua pandanus species; (565)

824 565. See lo taha, pp. 305-308.

531 they plait patterns into them with pandanus leaf strips of the lou kie
species, (566)

566. See ta'o-vala kie, p. 309.

dyed with European dyes, and put a band of cotton around the hat.

/226 cont./

512 stroll down to the beach to hunt for seafood, or they start preparing a new supply of hair- and body-oil. An important task for them, [264] however, is the preparation of the afternoon meal of which the entire family partakes between 17 and 19 o'clock. Around this time the [515] husband has returned from his plantation (often with fruit he picked) and has washed himself thoroughly and put on clean clothes. The children have spent the afternoon helping or playing and are now mostly also washed, as is the wife. Around 19 o'clock, after the meal, it has grown dark. Most families gather in their houses for prayer. Thereafter, the children spend a little time at their schoolwork and soon lie down to sleep while the husband and wife sit by the light of kerosene lamps, chat and talk over the next day and then go to rest around 21 - 22 o'clock. Many men and youths have [574] /227/ meanwhile gathered in various houses of the village for their kava circles (589)

589. See p. 144ff.

which seem to a large extent to satisfy all their social aspirations and which last far into the night, sometimes even until dawn. In [794] [533] many villages natives of both sexes gather in the evenings to take part in the practice and rehearsals of the various church choirs.

Circumstances may vary this average daily routine. Thus, the weather (for example, humidity or dryness) may be the occasion for [796] various tasks (plantations) or may prevent them. Church services also induce natives to get up earlier on some days of the week and to start the day with church attendance, or to end, thus, the day's work in the afternoon. Moreover, communal projects such as house-building (not so much boat-building) and the making of tapa lengths and mats in the kautaha houses (590)

[252] 590. On the days of such communal projects by

/228 cont./

512 (592)

527

[796] 592. Children also attend Sunday school.

[794] in which most of the natives (of both sexes and all ages) take part.
[252] Chiefly in the morning (around eight o'clock) the men, with the help
[264] of their wives, prepare an earth-oven (593)

> 593. This work, of course, the men also performed during the week if their wives have not prepared food in a simple manner.

the contents of which, around ten or eleven o'clock, serve as the main
[264] Sunday dinner, the leftovers of which they like to eat in the afternoon
as a second meal. As for the rest of the day, they prefer to spend it
[574] sleeping and chatting and also paying visits; some Tongans read the
[212] bible for a long time (as they often do evenings during the rest of the
[571] week), and in every village men belonging to individual community groups
[264] gather for the gala meal of thanksgiving sponsored by the church (fakaafe).

512 The daily routine of the Tongans, like their division of labor, essentially does not change throughout the seasons. Not only the population in general, (594)

[463]
[461] 594. The daily schedule of Tongans who have special professions (for example, teachers, physicians, clerks, government employees) is, of course, determined by their work.

but also many nobles, in contrast to the past, spend their days in this manner, provided they do not hold an office that carries with it a special honor.

512 Thus the daily routine reflects the changes, the transformation of
177 Tongan culture: Included in the array of traditional tasks, duties
178 and leisure activities are new activities (595)

[527] 595. Copra-production; clothes washing; church duties; attendance at church services, prayers,

771 /249 cont./ The
784 old, so greatly feared power of the tapu is gone. In place of this
178 merely negative law of prohibition, of avoidance and abstention has
778 come the idea of sanctity; though this also includes prohibition, its
meaning is far more ethical then that of the tapu, for the sacred, the
lofty and the godly is not so much "that which is dangerous, "
771 but rather "that which is to be venerated." For the natives, the
783 principle of sin and atonement of all human beings was also new; this
776 meant /250/ a considerable change in the ancient Tongan idea of the
178 deity, since the gods were not ideal beings beyond good and evil, and
did not punish sins (in the Christian sense). The old belief in the
[753] absolute dependence of human beings on the gods who sent illness and
suffering as punishment for the neglect of religious duties and other
[784] transgressions, is today equivalent to the conviction that God is
almighty; suffering and sickness are regarded as blows of fate sent
by God, though not merely in the sense of punishment, but of trial
771 and purification. Whereas in the past there were few rites and no
796 formalized general veneration of the gods in Tonga, there are today
178 several churches on all the inhabited islands, and the natives take
part in the numerous church services conducted in accordance with
793 their denominational procedure. The Tongan clergymen who serve the
554 congregations are respected and influential in the community, in contrast to the rather unimportant ancient Tongan priests. The former
178
782 sacrifices of the harvest, of fingers and of children have not been
178 carried out for a long time, buy, in a sense, the very high
794 donations to churches by members of the congregations may replace
771 these. Today, as in the past, there is general devoutness, and only
178 occasionally one comes across outspoken disbelief.

[177] These comparisons, despite their brevity, may give an insight
into the change that came about in Tonga in the field of religion,

/251 cont./ When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga,
773 occur, some people, as in old times, (675)
178
823
789
776 still make a noise in order to quiet the demigod Maui who carries the earth on his shoulders and, on such occasions, moves because of his uncomfortable position; not all natives, however, are aware of the meaning of this noise-making.

346 Today, every Tongan village has several churches, and even settlement on the tiniest islands of the Archipelago are not satisfied with only one of these more or less simple houses of God. The
795 reason is /252/ that there are now seven different denominations among
794 this people of 50,000 souls: the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, the Free Church of Tonga, the Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church, the Latter Day Saints, (Mormons) the Seventh Day Adventists and the Church of England /all cited in English/. The Mormons, the Adventists and the Church of England have been working for only a few decades in Tonga, and have only a small following so far. A larger number of Tongans belong to the Catholic church, which has done mission work in the Archipelago since 1842, but even they are a minority compared to most of the nation which is Wesleyan. The Wesleyans are split up into three churches of which the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga is the largest and comprises more than half of all Tongans.

The reasons for the origin of three Wesleyan churches are the following:

Around the middle of the previous century practically all Tongans were Christians, and the great majority of them were Wesleyans. They belonged to the Wesleyan (Mission) Church of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church which was under the authority of the Australasian Conference. In 1885 King George Tupou I, with the aid

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675. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 120; J. Wilson, A missionary voyage /cited in English/. pp. 277/278.

795 /252 cont,/ In 1885 King George Tupou I, with the aid
794 (or at the instigation?) of his Premier, the former Wesleyan missionary
643 Shirley Baker, tried to obtain Tongan autonomy for this church.
[645] When he was denied this, George founded the Wesleyan Free Church of
(797) Tonga, alongside of which the Wesleyan Church continued to exist. In
1923/24, under the influence of Queen Salote Tupou, it was decided to
unite the two churches under the name of Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga.
795 The majority of Tongans joined this church, while some of the natives
794 remained faithful to the Wesleyan Free Church (first known as
Continuing Free Church, then as Free Church of Tonga). But in this
[578] church, too, differences of opinion arose, which evidently pertained
to its white president, and a group split off and in 1928 founded the
Church of Tonga.

795 The three Wesleyan churches in Tonga show scarcely any differences
578 in dogma. Their division is based on administrative disputes, some of
the reasons for which lie in the pride and self-assurance of the Tongans
who would like to control their church and its finances themselves.
[643] The present Queen Salote, in her not quite successful attempt to unite
the churches (1923/24), was drawn into the dispute to the extent that
some Tongans of the minority Wesleyan churches blame her for this
step and sometimes even come to some not altogether valid conclusions
/253/ /saying/, for example, that "all this confusion comes from Her
Majesty the Queen." Yet, although the seven denominations in Tonga
are rivals and are pleased whenever a new member from another church
comes over to them, and although there is occasional unfriendliness,
especially between Wesleyans and Catholics, there is nevertheless no
open and bitter opposition to be observed. Rather, there is a quiet
and rigid insistence on the different points of view. And the old
[186] community feeling of the Tongans still outweighs the seven ecclesiastical
divisions of the people. Many natives take it for granted that
Wesleyan, for example, give donations when money is collected for

/253 cont./

795 the Catholic church, and that conversely Catholics do the same, that
578 members of the Free Wesleyan Church actively help one of the dissenting
churches build their church (as happened on Nomuka, for example, in
1951/52) and that Wesleyans send their children to Catholic schools
(and vice versa). The Tongans are, after all, too even-tempered to
let serious inner conflicts arise just because each of the seven
795 churches regards its doctrine to be the only true one. They belong
794 to a church and give themselves more or less to its services and find
771 inner contentment therein. And if they do not find this, if for
some reason they are dissatisfied and learn of the very convincing
doctrine of another church, they will simply change over. However, such
transfers are not frequent enough to cause a continuing turnover
amongst the membership of the individual church communities.

346 In an average Tongan village there are perhaps three or four
177 (five) churches. They are either simple structures shaped like larger
dwellings of ancient Tonga style, roofed over and covered with interwoven
halved coconut palm leaves (pola) or provided with board walls,
glass windows and corrugated iron roofs, or they are simple European-type
rectangular frame houses (with corrugated iron roofs) or, in
rare cases, buildings resembling European churches, made of coral
limstone, sand and cement, or of reinforced concrete with a regular
church steeple. (676)

> 676. The Catholic church of Pangai/Lifuka, for example, was built in the 20s of this century in the style of a French village church, and even has a steeple clock. The Catholic church of Fungamisi/Vava'u, built in 1946 of reinforced concrete, has a steeple 16 meters high. In 1952 the Wesleyans completed the largest church building of the Archipelago in Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu), a modern-style reinforced concrete construction which is huge by their standards.

346
352 The interiors of the Wesleyan churches vary from simple seat mats on

/253 cont./

346 352 the floor and a small wooden table for the preacher, to complete furnishings, with a pulpit and benches. In the Catholic churches /254/ and chapels one finds altars and the customary decor.

797 793 794 Only a few white missionaries are still working on the islands. In general, the Tongans carry on the work begun by Europeans, and conduct the services themselves. The individual Wesleyan congregations are headed by native clergymen and, in accordance with the character of the Methodist church, they are assisted by a number of lay preachers. In the Catholic churches of the Archipelago a bishop and several priests officiate, but on the smaller islands native catechists have taken over their work, provided they are authorized to do so according to the organization of the Catholic church. Tongans also head some of the Mormon congregations.

796 [533] [794] The number of church services is relatively large. The Wesleyans generally go to church six times a week: Mondays at 17 o'clock, Wednesdays at 5 (6) o'clock, Fridays at 17 o'clock and Sundays at 5 (6), 9 and 15 o'clock. (In addition there are often rehearsals of the quite large church choirs on two or three evenings a week.) In the Catholic churches the morning masses are read every day, and at 18 o'clock the evening prayer service is held; in addition, on Sundays there is high mass at 8 o'clock and the benediction at 16 o'clock.

796 794 [578] Attendance at the services is very active; most Wesleyan Tongans, for example, scarcely miss one of them; (677)

677. In the villages, however, there are some who, for various reasons (for example, because they have an antipathy to the priest) stay away from services for years.

they willingly get up early for them and cease their plantation work in time so that they will not be late for church. (678)

678. On the subject of punctuality at church services see p. 33-34.

/253 cont./

796 Along with a doubtlessly often felt inner need, there is also a desire
794 to be seen in public and to enjoy the reputation of being a good
[626] Christian, which plays an important part in this church attendance, and
the number of Tongans who believe that with this frequent attendance
at services (and with their prayers at home) they are doing enough for
their welfare on this earth and for their salvation is probably not
insignificant. This attitude, however, is probably less Tongan than
typically human, and the Tonga Archipelago is doubtless not exceptional
among the rest of the Christian countries of the world. Yet it seems
noteworthy that these rather casual human beings to whom the European
time sense is so foreign should attend church services so regularly.
[152] The majority of them seem to listen devoutly and with wholehearted
feeling to the sermon and try to experience within themselves the
biblical passages discussed, /255/ so that, like the preacher, they
[533] often have tears in their eyes. Their singing of the hymns is loud
and fervent. They are, at any rate, convinced that they are real
[186] Christians, (679)
and are proud of the fact that they are good church-goers, and they
speak disdainfully of worldly and disbelieving whites with whom they
have become acquainted during the present decades, especially during
000 the last World War (troops on Tongatapu). Although the younger

[527] [461] 679. Strange, though probably understandable with the Old Testament bias of the Methodists, is the attitude of the Wesleyan Tongans to Sundays and to the important church holidays. While on Sunday a strict rest from work is observed, at Easter, Good Friday and the Christmas days they simply attend the services and then work at various activities that seem necessary. On the first Christmas day in 1951 on Nomuka working Tongans were questioned and gave the following explanation: "Sunday is the Lord's day of rest, and Christmas is only the birthday of His Son."

794
883 /255 cont./ Although the younger Tongans generally have a similar attitude toward the church as the older ones, there are a few among them who are freer (680)

680. Some young Tongans, for example, attend the Wesleyan services only on Sunday.

and more critical, and some who are even skeptical; it is difficult to say whether this is the beginning of a certain change (that is, a weakening of the old zealous faith), or whether it is merely an attitude that can be attributed to the youth of the persons in question, which will change as they grow older and will become more stable in the religious sense.

771
177 In summarizing we may therefore conclude: The ancient Tongan religion is a thing of the past except for a few insignificant surviving elements, and Christianity has become an essential factor in the life of all Tongans whose religious needs are obviously being satisfied by the churches, and whose zealous devoutness is today probably stronger than in many traditional Christian countries. [797] Although the missionaries destroyed the belief in the ancient gods and the effectiveness of the tapu which cast its shadow over all of life, this did not mean a disruption and a catastrophe in the lives of the Tongans. [829] For in place of the old that was overthrown there was immediately something new that was highly revered and they could believe in, all the more so because Christianity seemed to the natives the reason for Europe's so successful development. (681)

681. During their conversion the bible was often regarded as the source of ability and power, and thus they were very willing to learn to read.

[565] Since the commoners were recognized as having the same status before God, the same prospects for a life in the next world as did the nobles, the population could be won over to the new religion all the more easily. [797] The present findings show that the great majority of Tongans are very devout Christians, hence the goal of the early missionaries

/257 cont./

533 the women and girls) still have a nasal
796 sound.

[194] today sing at services in their churches. The Free Wesleyan Church
795 of Tonga prefers purely European (English) melodies which have been
796 borrowed from hymns as well as secular songs. In the Free Church of
533 177 Tonga, which is more conservative and apparently also does not have
the personnel to teach congregations the European song literature, one
still hears predominantly European-influenced ancient Tongan melodies.

533 The choirs of the various Wesleyan churches cultivate singing to
794 an especially great extent. They meet several evenings a week and, by
177 a system of numbered notes written on blackboards, which was introduced
in Tonga, they practice with great patience and notable musical
talent the songs composed by their choir masters or adapted from
European printed notes; these songs they sing with an enthusiasm
intensified by their Christian faith. In this way even works of
European masters (as for example, the Hallelujah chorus of Handel's
"Messiah") have been introduced in Tonga.

533 The influence of sacred songs is today so great that even on
sea journeys between the islands the natives sing chiefly these songs
and rarely secular ones.

Thus Tongan song has changed essentially in comparison with the
(177) past. Yet the joy of singing is probably at least as great today as
it was in ancient Tonga, since the new European /258/ melodies and
particularly the singing furthered by religious motives have brought
great stimulation.

534 In pre-European Tonga there were relatively few, simple musical
instruments. At dances the natives liked to use "rhythm-stampers,"
that is, bamboo tubes of various lengths closed at the lower end, the
proportions of which determined the pitch of the tone. (690)

535 /267 cont./ The reason for this decline is doubtless the
178 suppression of this art by the early Wesleyan missionaries; the restless
[797] times of the civil wars in the first half of the previous century may
[669] also have had a deterring effect. The more liberal /268/ views (726)

(794) 726. Even today the active members of the Wesleyan congregations may take part in dances only if their pastor gives them permission.

of recent times and the fact that today dances are taught in schools and are also presented at church festivals have not been able to revive this art to the height of the ancient times, for the original impulse, namely, the absolute power of the chiefs at whose command and for whom the dances were once practiced, has been too much weakened, and there is no other stimulaus that is as strong.

B. Games of Adults and Children

524 In ancient Tonga there were a great many different games (that is, activities that were carried out solely for pleasure).

524
565 Among adults, the chiefs and their matapule like to engage in a hand-gesture game (liangi?) which had special rules; (727)

727. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 339-341; J.J. Labillardiere, Relation.../Account/ II. p. 146.

the lower classes were familiar with a similar, but simpler game (matua). (728)

728. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 344.

524 Other games, likewise subject to rules, with several participants, were
565 lafo, played only by the nobility (played with chips thrown on a
526 mat), (729)

729. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 343; E.W. Gifford, Tongan society, p. 117.

rat shooting (fana kuma) (a hunting game) (730)

730. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 279-284.

put on by the nobility, the spear target-throwing (tolo) (in which a

/275 cont./

772 and to which school-knowledge of these natives is still to a large
771 extent subordinated--in accordance with the wishes of the early mission-
177 aries; even the art of reading, for the majority of present-day Tongans
212 is--as it was more than a century ago--almost exclusively meant for bible
538 study and the reading of other church literature, since there is still
no secular literature in the Tongan language.

871 The Tongan school system has constantly expended and increased.
Today there is compulsory education for all children between the ages
872 of six and fourteen, with free school attendance. In 1950 (752)
there were 134 elementary schools on the Islands; 70 of them were run by the government, 35 by the Free Wesleyan Church, 21 by the Roman Catholic Church, four by the Adventists, two by the Free Church (Wesleyan), one by the Anglican Church and one by the Mormons. In them 335 teachers taught 10,626 boys and girls. (753)

/276/ These schools, like the English elementary schools, teach basic knowledge; some subjects are adapted to specific Tongan needs. Teaching includes: arithmetic (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, fractions), English (reading, spelling, translation, dictation, grammar, composition, letter-writing), Tongan language (reading, dictation, composition), hygiene (and first aid), geography (the Tonga-Archipelago and the Pacific), history (especially of Tonga), nature study (plants and animals), music (singing, scales), penmanship, drawing, gymnastics, agriculture (once a week plantation work), (sewing) and Tongan handcraft (plaiting, making tapa printing plates,
woodwork such as boat models and paddles, etc.). The schools organized
[794] by the churches also give religious instruction. Teaching is done in

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(113) 752. See Report of the Department of Education for the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p.1.

753. Ibid. p. 1.